

Esayi Hasan Jalaleants'
(Kat'oghikos of the Armenian Holy See of Gandzasar)

A Brief History of the Aghuank' Region

(Patmut'iwn Hamarōt Aghuanits' Erkri)

A History of Karabagh and Ganje
from 1702-1723

Introduction and Annotated Translation by

George A. Bournoutian

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To my dear friends in Toronto

L'Amité est l'amour sans ailes

(Lord Byron)

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George Bournoutian
Iona College

Transliteration, Dates, and Place Names

Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Georgian and Russian terms are transliterated according to the Library of Congress tables. I have removed some of the diacritical marks from the Persian and Arabic characters following the initial use of the word. The Turkish terms reflect the modern Turkish variant, thus, "Ali," "Süleyman," and "Ahmad," instead of "‘Ali," "Soleimān," and "Aḥmad" for the Arabic and Persian versions. The Armenian terms also follow the Library of Congress system, with minor deviations (e.g. "Hovhannēs" instead of "Yovhannēs," "Hovhannavank" instead of "Yovhannavank" and ê instead of ě). Commonly used terms, place names, and anglicized forms are not transliterated (e.g. khan, pasha, shah, sultan, Erevan, Tabriz, Isfahan, Tiflis, Safavid, etc.).

Unlike most Armenian historians of the period, Esayi rarely uses Arabic, Persian, and Turkish loanwords. These terms are only noted when they appear for the first time.

The Armenian calendar used by Esayi reckons the year from the autumnal equinox of the year 552. It is, therefore, 551 years behind that of the Western calendars. All the dates have been converted (appear in parentheses) to correspond to the Gregorian calendar used in the West. One must note, however, that without the exact day and month of a Muslim year, the date for the year can vary slightly when changed to the Christian era. I have used the tables in A. Birashk, *A Comparative Calendar* (Costa Mesa, 1993), to convert the *hijri* years to Western equivalents.

Every effort has been made to indicate the variants or current names of towns, villages, rivers, and other geographical place names that are mentioned in the text. They appear in parentheses the first time the term is cited and are cross-referenced in the index.

Translator's Introduction

Historical Background

At the end of the seventeenth century, a number of Armenian *meliks*¹ from Karabagh (Qarabagh/Artsakh) and Zangezur, weary of the harassment by local Muslim governors, sought to put Armenia under European protection.² In this they were joined by the Kat'oghikos of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, Hakob of Julfa. Although they did not achieve their goal, the search for a strong Christian power remained in their collective memory.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the leadership at Ējmiatsin, fearing both the Persians and the Ottomans, did not dare to seek aid from a Christian state. The autonomous *meliks* of Karabagh, on the other hand, had no such qualms and were ready to act. Geopolitical realities convinced these Armenians that Russia was their only hope.

Meanwhile, the anti-Christian measures of Shah Solṭān Ḥosein, the last Safavid ruler of Persia, forced the Georgians to look to Russia as a potential Christian protector. The Georgians, who, in 609, had split with the Armenians and had accepted the Orthodox branch of Christianity, felt a special affinity with Russia.

In 1711, Wakhtang VI, who had been the regent of K'art'li (eastern Georgia), was summoned to Isfahan after the death of his father to receive his investiture from the intolerant Shah Solṭān Ḥosein. He was told that unless he converted to Islam he could not return to Tiflis. Wakhtang waited for three years for European ambassadors to intervene on his behalf. In the meantime, the Shah sent Wakhtang's renegade brother Iese (who had taken the name 'Ali-qoli Khan) to Ti-

¹ The term is derived from the Arabic *malik*, which has a variety of meanings including "lord." The Armenian *meliks* of Transcaucasia were minor princes and scions of Armenian feudal nobility, who had sought refuge in the highlands of Karabagh, Ghap'an, and Lori, following the Turko-Mongol invasions of eastern Armenia. A number of them had received recognition of their autonomy from Persian shahs.

² For more information, see G. Bournoutian, *Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A Documentary Record* (Costa Mesa, 2001), 382-386; and docs. 40, 41, 43.

flis as viceroy. The Georgian people did not accept Iese and rebelled. In 1716, Wakhtang, tired of waiting, feigned conversion, took the name of Hosein-qoli Khan and was appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian army. His son, Bak'ar, was appointed the regent of K'art'li. In 1719, Wakhtang finally returned to Tiflis with orders to crush the Lezgi marauders, a task which he accomplished fully in 1720. However, when the Persian court began to intrigue against him, Wakhtang, who had secretly remained a Christian, sought the help of Russia.¹

The Armenians and Georgians, therefore, both contacted Peter the Great (1689-1725).² Peter, who wished to extend the borders of Russia to the Black and Caspian seas, assured them of his support in the near future. The collapse of the Safavids and the murder of a number of Russian merchants by the Lezgians in Shamakhi, gave Peter—who had, in 1721, concluded his war with Sweden—the pretext for a Russian incursion. Russian troops crossed the Terek River in 1722.

The Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh gathered some 10,000 armed men and, along with their kat'oghikos Esayi (1702-1728), went to the outskirts of Ganje to meet Wakhtang and his army. Both groups awaited the arrival of Peter and the Russian army to liberate their historic lands from Muslim occupation. Armenian and Georgian hopes were dashed when, as will be seen below, Peter left his army in Darband (Derbent) and himself returned to St. Petersburg.

The Ottomans, fearful of a Russian presence along their eastern border, and taking advantage of the fall of Isfahan, the capital of the Safavids, to the Afghans, invaded the Erevan region and eastern Georgia. French mediation stopped the two belligerents from mounting a full-scale war against each other. The Russo-Turkish agreement (July 1724) divided Transcaucasia between the Ottomans and the Russians. The Ottomans took over Erevan, Nakhichevan, Tiflis and Ganje, as well as parts of northwestern Persia, while the Russians occupied the Caspian littoral, which included Darband, Baku, Shamakhi and the Province of Gilan (see map 1). Ironically, regions with a large Christian population fell into the Ottoman zone, while those with a large Muslim population fell under Russian control.³

¹ D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832* (New York, 1957), 105-111.

² *Armenians and Russia*, docs. 44-49, 53, 55, 59, and 64.

³ *Ibid.*, doc. 127.

The Armenians of Karabagh and Ganje and the Georgians of the region of K'art'li, who had planned to join Peter, had now to deal with the wrath of the Ottomans, Lezgis and various local Muslim khans. Many Armenians sought refuge in the mountains of Karabagh, where they fiercely and successfully resisted the invaders, while other Armenian commanders and soldiers fled to Russia.¹

Faced with Ottoman and Lezgi attacks, Wakhtang left Tiflis in May 1723 and continued to carry on guerrilla warfare against the Turks and Lezgis. The Russo-Ottoman treaty ended all his hopes for a Russian invasion and, in August 1724, he, together with some 1,200 members of the nobility and clergy, sought refuge in Russia.²

After Peter's death, Russian interest in the region dampened. A decade later, the Persians, under the leadership of Nāder Shah (1736-1747), restored the Safavid boundaries, expelled the Ottomans and convinced Empress Anna to remove the remaining Russian troops.³ Three decades later, Catherine the Great revived Russian interest in the region. Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh once more promised their help and Russia concluded a treaty with King Erekle II (1762-1798) of Georgia. Catherine ordered her army to march into the region, following the sack of Tiflis by Agha Moḥammad Khan Qajar of Persia (1795), but her death (1796) halted the Russian campaign and once again the Christians were disappointed.

It was only in the beginning of the nineteenth century that Russia, following the two Russo-Persian Wars (1804-1813, 1826-1828) and the Russo-Turkish War (1828-1829), annexed all of Georgia, as well as the khanates of Ganje, Karabagh, Shakki (Sheki), Kuba (Qobbe), Shirvan, Baku, Talesh, Erevan and Nakhichevan to its empire.

The Hasan Jalaleants' Family and Gandzasar

The Hasan Jalaleants' were the hereditary *meliks* of Khach'en. A number of their family members also served as the kat'oghikoi of the Armenian See at Gandzasar in Karabagh and were later appointed as the Metropolitans of the Armenian diocese centered in Shushi. The family traced its ancestry to a certain Armenian commander named

¹ They formed an Armenian squadron in the Russian army, which was led by their own officers.

² Lang, 114-115.

³ *Armenians and Russia*, docs. 172, 178.

Hasan, who served the Artsruni princes and who later joined the service of the Georgian Bagratids. His progeny served the Georgian Queen T'amar in the early thirteenth century, and one of their female members married a Mukhranid Georgian prince. The family members, led by their patriarch, Hasan-Jalal Dawla, established themselves, in 1216, in Lower Khach'en in the highlands of Karabagh and, in 1238, completed the construction of the great Armenian cathedral at Gandzasar atop a high mountain.¹ Hasan-Jalal Dawla was buried in Gandzasar in 1261 after his death at the hands of the Mongols.

The family then took the name of their patriarch, and was thus called Hasan Jalaleants'. Members of the family ruled Khach'en as autonomous princes; some were buried in Gandzasar. From around 1400 onward, the Gandzasar complex became the official residence of the Armenian kat'oghikoi of the Aghuank' region. In 1441, a representative from Gandzasar was present at the important conclave of bishops that transferred the Holy See from Sis back to its original site at Ējmiatsin.

In 1462, Begum-Khatun, the wife of Sultan Jahanshah Qara Qoyunlu (1438-1467), reiterated the rights of Gandzasar over the Aghuank' region and gave them a certificate, which exempted them from any state taxes.² In 1487, Sultan Ya'qub Aq Qoyunlu (1478-1490) appointed Shmawon as the Kat'oghikos of Gandzasar and again exempted the See from taxes.³ Between 1606 and 1620, the region was shaken when a former deacon from Gandzasar, called Mekhlu, led a peasant uprising against the Armenian Church hierarchy.⁴ Gandzasar faced another major challenge from 1675 to 1765 when some ambitious bishops thrice established themselves as rival kat'oghikoi at the Three Youths Monastery near the borders of Ganje.⁵

¹ An earlier monastery is mentioned there prior to the 10th century.

² See Matenadaran Archives, folder 2a, doc. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, doc. 8.

⁴ He accused the clergy of being corrupt and told the people not to pay church dues. For details, see G. Bournoutian, *The Chronicle of Zak'aria of K'anak'er* (Costa Mesa, 2004), 64-69.

⁵ They were the anti-kat'oghikoi Simēon IV (1675-1701, Nersēs V (1706-1763) and Israyēl (1763-1765); see below.

Esayi Hasan Jalaleants'

Esayi's date of birth is unknown. It seems, however, that he was among the Karabaghi and Erevani clerics and *meliks* who secretly met in Erevan (1677 or 1678) and decided to send Kat'oghikos Hakob to Europe, to seek the aid of a Christian monarch in liberating the Armenians from Muslim rule and to restore the Armenian kingdom under a European Christian monarch. The death of Shah 'Abbās II (1642-1666) had ended the long period of prosperity enjoyed by the Armenians and Georgians; the new shah, Soleimān (1666-1694), was ineffectual, and local Muslim khans and tribal chiefs had begun to harass the Christians of Transcaucasia.

The Karabaghi *meliks* sent one of their own, Israyēl Ōri, to accompany Hakob. Hakob died in Constantinople in 1680 and the mission was aborted. Ōri, however, continued alone and, after many adventures, obtained a vague promise of support from Johann Wilhelm of the Palatinate and returned to Karabagh in 1699. The bold Giorgi XI of K'art'li, a supporter of their original plan, had lost his throne, however. Kat'oghikos Nahapet, who was fearful, as well as ill, rebuffed Ōri, while Simēon IV, the anti-kat'oghikos of Aghuank', and his group of *meliks* refused to support him.

A few of the *meliks* and Esayi showed some support and sent Ōri back to Europe, accompanied by Vardapet Minas as his assistant. In Europe, Ōri presented his plan and obtained letters from the Emperor Leopold addressed to Peter the Great. In 1701, Ōri arrived in Russia and submitted his plan to Peter, in which a Russian army would arrive in Transcaucasia and would be met by thousands of armed Armenian and Georgian volunteers. When Peter showed interest, Ōri and Minas immediately wrote to the *meliks* of Karabagh.

The news arrived at an opportune moment, for the two rival kat'oghikoi of Aghuank', Eremia II and Simēon IV, had died one after the other. Esayi, became one the main supporters of Ōri. His family, as noted, was not only one of the major *meliks* of Karabagh, but had also built Gandzasar. Having Ōri's and Minas' letters, he seems to have convinced most of the *meliks* to elect him as the new kat'oghikos.

After receiving their approval, Esayi first obtained his confirmation as the Kat'oghikos of the Aghuank' region (in 1701) from Shah Solṭān Ḥosein by paying the huge sum of fifty large gold pieces to the

shah's treasury.¹ He then went to Ējmiatsin and was consecrated as the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank' (in 1702) by Kat'oghikos Nahapet.

While at Ējmiatsin, Esayi witnessed the difficult position of Ējmiatsin and the constraints placed upon it by the Persian administration. Nahapet was sick and old, and the Holy See had experienced great turmoil during the schism between Kat'oghikos Hakob and Kat'oghikos Eghiazar.² He also learned that Kat'oghikos Nahapet, after receiving Orī's letter, had wished the latter luck but had refused to cooperate.³ Upon his return, Esayi immediately attempted to expand the authority of Gandzasar. He wrote a letter to the Armenians of Russia, asking them to look to him and not Ējmiatsin for their spiritual needs.⁴

He then encouraged the *meliks* of Karabagh to write to Vardapet Minas, Israyēl Orī and Peter the Great, expressing their readiness to give armed support to a Russian invasion of Transcaucasia.⁵ The sixteen-month vacancy in the Ējmiatsin kat'oghikosate following the death of Nahapet gave Esayi the prefect pretext. With no kat'oghikos at Ējmiatsin, Esayi sought to increase his prestige by bringing the wealthy Armenian dioceses in Russia, which had been under the jurisdiction of Ējmiatsin, under his control. This would also serve to convince Peter that he could carry out his pledge of assistance.

Prior to this, Ējmiatsin had always sent one of its bishops to reside in Astrakhan as its prelate. Esayi now elevated Vardapet Minas to the rank of bishop and appointed him as the sole prelate of the Russian Armenians. When the new kat'oghikos of Ējmiatsin, Aghek'sandr of Julfa, finally sent Bishop Hovakim as Ējmiatsin's prelate to Russia, Minas, who had established his credentials earlier, convinced the

¹ Matenadaran Archives: Persian documents, folder 2b, doc. 142; facsimile in K. Kostikyan, *Persian Documents of the Matenadaran* (Erevan, 2005), 640-642.

² After Kat'oghikos Hakob (1655-1680) was elected by the Armenians of Persia, the Armenians of Constantinople felt slighted and in 1663 elected the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem as their own kat'oghikos (1663-1681). The schism caused great troubles for Ējmiatsin and was resolved only when the hierarchy at Ējmiatsin elected Eghiazar as the new kat'oghikos after the death of Hakob. Eghiazar came to Ējmiatsin and was consecrated in 1682.

³ *Armenians and Russia*, doc. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, doc. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, docs. 52, 53.

Russians that Hovakim was a Persian spy and had him arrested. Hovakim died in a Russian jail and no other prelate from Ējmiatsin was permitted to come to Russia.

Esayi and the *meliks* of Karabagh, as noted, kept their promise and prepared a 10,000-man Armenian army from Karabagh. The text clearly demonstrates that Esayi coordinated his activities with King Wakhtang of Georgia and would have probably liberated the region if Peter had carried out his initial plan.

Although Esayi died in 1728, the pro-Russian activities of Gandzasar and the Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh convinced Peter's immediate successors to view Gandzasar and its kat'oghikoi as the sole representative of the Armenians in Russia. It was only six decades later, when the Kat'oghikosate of Aghuank' was once again torn between two rival kat'oghikoi, that Kat'oghikos Simēon of Erevan managed to approach the new Russian ruler, Catherine the Great.¹ Catherine, who realized the importance of the Mother See of Ējmiatsin for the Armenian communities in Persia, India, Europe and the Ottoman Empire, reversed the Russian policy and, once again, recognized Ējmiatsin as the sole representative of the Russian Armenians.²

Esayi's Brief History of the Aghuank' Region

Esayi's work covers the period of 1702 to 1723, that is, from the time of his official consecration at Ējmiatsin to the abandonment of the Armeno-Georgian army by Peter the Great, the Lezgi invasions of the region, the flight of King Wakhtang from Tiflis, and the great destruction caused by the Lezgis.

Esayi asserts that the Sunni Ottomans, taking advantage of the chaos in Persia, encouraged the Sunni Lezgis and Kazi-Kumuks (Ghazi Qomuq) to attack the Shi'i living in Ganje and Shamakhi. The Lezgis besieged Ganje and the inhabitants asked for Wakhtang's help.

Esayi details the arrival of Wakhtang with his army and the flight of the Lezgis. He adds that when the king returned to Tiflis, he asked Esayi to accompany him. Both awaited Peter's arrival. Esayi had al-

¹ *Ibid.*, doc. 284.

² For details, see G. Bournoutian, "The Armenian Church and Czarist Russia," in B. Der Mugrdchian, ed. *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouyumjian* (Costa Mesa, 2008), 429-444.

ready dispatched Vardapet Minas to St. Petersburg to assure Peter of armed assistance from the Armenians of Karabagh.

Peter and his army, together with Vardapet Minas, left Astrakhan in the summer of 1722 and marched south. The Russian flotilla, carrying arms and supplies, left Astrakhan on July 19. The Russian army took Darband on August 23. The news of Peter's arrival brought great joy and hope to Esayi and Wakhtang. The latter immediately sent Esayi back to Karabagh to bring the 10,000-man Armenian army to Ganje. They were to meet there, proceed together to Shamakhi, and rendezvous with the Russian army. Unfortunately, the Russian flotilla was caught in a storm on the Caspian Sea and lost much of its arms and provisions. Sickness among the troops and threats from the Ottomans forced Peter to leave the army in Darband and return to St. Petersburg.

Esayi and the Armenian army returned to Karabagh, while Wakhtang was faced with the attack from King Constantine II (known as Moḥammad-qoli Khan) of Kakhet'i, who was encouraged by the Persians. When Wakhtang defeated Moḥammad-qoli Khan, the latter asked for help from the various mountaineers living in the Caucasus. With their help he entered Tiflis and forced Wakhtang to flee. Esayi's narrative ends here.

The main value of Esayi's *Brief History* lies in it being an eye-witness account of the important events that occurred in 1721-1723. Although the first four chapters contain interesting information, chapters five and six are the ones that include details not found elsewhere. These two rather lengthy chapters describe the formation of the 10,000-man Armenian army from Karabagh, which together with Esayi went to the outskirts of Ganje to meet King Wakhtang. Esayi paints a vivid picture of the correspondence, maneuvers and preparations, the hopes and disappointments of the Armenians and Georgians, the terrible destruction caused by the Lezgis, as well as the heroic struggle of the Karabagh Armenians against the Muslim invaders.

Publication History

After Swiss Evangelical missionaries from Basel were expelled from Shushi in 1837, Metropolitan Baghdasar Hasan Jalaleants', the then head of the Armenian Shushi diocese, purchased their printing

press for the Armenian school of Shushi. Two years later, in 1839, he printed his relative's *History*.¹ A second edition, with the original title, was printed at the St. James Monastery in Jerusalem, in 1868.² A French translation, prepared by Brosset, was published in St. Petersburg in 1876.³ All three editions have long been out of print and rarely used by scholars. A Georgian translation appeared in 1971,⁴ and a version in modern Armenian was printed in Erevan in 1997.⁵

In 1988, following the demands of the Karabagh Armenians to secede from Azerbaijan and join Armenia, a number of Azeri academics, led by Zia Bunyatov, in order to justify their government's claims regarding the Armenian populated region of Nagorno-Karabakh, rushed to prove that the Armenian population of Karabagh had only arrived there after 1828 and thus had no historical claims to the region. Lacking any sources written in Azeri—since the Azeri alphabet was created in the twentieth century,⁶ and refusing, for obvious reasons, to cite Armenian sources, they had to rely on sources written in Persian, Arabic, and Russian, among others.

To their dismay, they found that not only had ancient and medieval Greek, Roman, Arab, Persian, as well as early modern Russian, German and English historians, geographers and travelers placed Karabagh in historic Armenia, but also that the Armenians had formed a large part of the population of Karabagh centuries prior to 1828.⁷

¹ *Patmut'iwn kam hishatak inch'-inch' ants'its' dipelots' yashkharhin Aghuanits'* [The history or memoirs of what terrible incidents occurred in the region of Aghuank'] (Shushi, 1839).

² *Patmut'iwn hamarot Aghuanits' erkri* [A Brief History of the Aghuank' Region] (Jerusalem, 1868).

³ M. F. Brosset, *Collection D'Historiens Arméniens*, II (St. Petersburg, 1876).

⁴ *Agvant'a k'vegnis mogle istoria* (Tiflis, 1971).

⁵ B. Ulubabyan, ed. *Hamarot Patmut'yun Aghvanits' Erkri* (Erevan, 1997).

⁶ Turki, a Turko-Persian dialect spoken in eastern Transcaucasia and parts of Iranian Azarbaijān, is different from Ottoman or Modern Turkish. In the 20th century, Turki became the basis for the literary language of the new Azerbaijan Republic. The Communist regime dropped the Arabic-Persian script and adopted a Latin-Cyrillic alphabet.

⁷ See Ptolemy's *Geography* (Frankfurt, 1987); Strabo's *Geography*, V (Cambridge, MA, 1969); Dio Cassius' *Roman History*, III (Cambridge, MA,

Even more irritating was the fact that Muslim historians, who had lived in the territory of what later became the Azerbaijan Republic, men like Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov Mirza Jamal Javanshir and Mirza Adigozal Beg, the first of whom was honored by the Academy of Sciences in Baku as the father of the history of Azerbaijan, had clearly indicated a strong Armenian presence in Karabagh prior to 1828 and had placed the region within the territory of historic Armenia.¹

Therefore, in order to substantiate their political claims, Bunyatov and his fellow academics chose to set aside all scholarly integrity and print large numbers of re-edited versions of these not easily accessible primary sources on Karabagh, while deleting or altering references to the Armenians.²

1984); Mostowfi's *The Geographical Part of Nuzhat al-Qulub* (London, 1919); Istakhri's *al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik* (Tehran, 1989); ibn Khurradadhbih's *Al-Masalik wa al-mamalik* (Tehran, 1991); Ya'qubi's, *Tarikh* (Leiden, 1969); al-Muqaddasi's *Ahsan al-taqasim* (Leiden, 1962); Ibn Hauqal's *Kitab Surat al-Ard* (Leiden, 1939); Baladhuri's *Futuh al-Buldan* (Tehran, 1967); *Hudud al-'Alam* (London, 1970); Minorsky's translation of parts of *Jami' al-duwal* and *Bab al-Abwab* in his *History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10-11th Centuries* (London, 1958); G. Keppel's *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England*, II (London, 1834); and H. R. Roemer's "Timur in Persia," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI (Cambridge, 1986).

¹ All three manuscripts were written in Persian during the 19th century and were later translated into Russian and Azeri. Abas-Kuli-Aga Bakikhanov, *Giulistan-Iram* (Baku, 1926), Azeri version published in Baku, 1951; Mirza Dzhemal Dzhevanshir Karabagskii, *Istoriia Karabaga* (Baku, 1959), Azeri version published in the same year; Mirza Adigezal'-Bek, *Karabag-name* (Baku, 1950). W. Floor and H. Javadi have translated the first into English; see *The Heavenly Rose-Garden: A History of Shirvan and Daghestan* (Washington, DC, 2009); the other two have also been translated. See G. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh* (Costa Mesa, 1993) and *Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh* (Costa Mesa, 2004).

² For example, the word "Armenia and Armenian" which appear in the critical Persian edition, as well as the 1926 Russian edition of Bakikhanov, is removed from Bunyatov's 1991 edition. This fact has been noted and criticized by Floor and Javadi (pp. 5, 41). The word "Armenian," which appears in the original Persian manuscript, as well as the 1959 Azeri and Russian translations of Mirza Jamal (pp. 16, 67-68), is deleted from the 1989 edition of volume I of *Karabağnamələr* printed in Baku under the supervision of N.

The first act of this historical disinformation began with Bunyatov's edition of Esayi's *Brief History*. In the summer of 1988, immediately following the demonstrations of the Karabagh Armenians, the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan prepared the printing of a hitherto unpublished Russian translation,¹ as well as an Azeri version.²

The following is from Bunyatov's introduction:

"In 1978, in the village of Maragha, or Maraghashen (present-day Leninavan) in the Mardakert district of NKAO,³ an obelisk was erected in honor of the 150th anniversary of the immigration of the first 200 Armenian families from the town of Maragha (Southern Azerbaijan)⁴ into the territory of Karabagh. The immigration be-

Akhundov (pp. 111-112). In addition, four chapters, as well as a sentence dealing with Armenians in Karabagh, were removed by Bunyatov from the new edition of the Russian translation of Johannes Schiltberger's travels; see I. Shilt'berger, *Puteshestvie po Evrope, Azii, i Afrike s 1394 goda po 1427 god* (Odessa, 1866 and Baku, 1984).

¹ Esai Khasan-Dzhalalian, *Kratkaia istoriia strany Albanskoi, 1702-1722* (Baku, 1989).

² Iesai Hasan-Jalalian, *Alban olkasinin gysa tarikhi* (Baku, 1992).

³ The above is the Russian abbreviation for Nagorno-Karabagh Autonomous Region.

⁴ Contrary to Bunyatov's ridiculous notion, the only Azerbaijan prior to the 20th century was the northwestern Persian province of Azarbaijān with its capital in Tabriz. This is clearly indicated in the title of Glinka's monograph (see note 2 above). During the 16-18th centuries, the territory of the present-day Azerbaijan Republic was not a single entity. Rather, the entire region of Transcaucasia was under total or nominal (depending on the political circumstances) Persian rule. The area of present-day Azerbaijan Republic was divided into the semi-autonomous *khanates* of Baku, Sheki, Qobbe (Kuba), Talesh, Ganje and Shirvan, and the Armenian *melikdoms* of Karabagh. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Muslim khans and the Armenian *meliks* fought each other and made separate deals with Georgia, Russia, or Persia. Following the Russian conquest (1804-1813) and until the Russian Revolution of 1917, the entire region of present-day Azerbaijan was subdivided into new administrative units, which at various times were called the Caspian, Shamakhi, Baku and Elizavetpol provinces. The Soviets, in order to expand their influence in the region, came up with the idea that Iranian Azarbaijān was part of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan (they called it "southern Azerbaijan"). This notion became prevalent immediately after WWII, when

gan immediately following the conclusion of the Turkmenchay Treaty between Russia and Iran in 1828."

"No one could imagine what unpredictable events the immigration of a small number of Armenians onto the territory of Karabagh would unleash in the future. However, even then, V. Velichko, A. Griboedov, A. Suvorov, N. Shavrov, A. Chavchavadze and many others warned the Russian government about the danger that this thoughtless decision would bring to the indigenous Azerbaijani¹ inhabitants."²

"The immigrants, subsidized by the Armenian kat'oghikosate,³ immediately began to purchase lands from the local Azerbaijani [sic] rulers and very soon a huge mass of Armenians, thousands of families, immigrated to Karabagh."⁴

To legitimize this edition as unbiased, Bunyatov stated that Tigran Ter-Grigorian, an Armenian scholar working at the History Institute of Baku, had prepared the Russian translation (from which the Azeri version was translated). Ter-Grigorian's translation, from the original Armenian, was supposedly completed in 1940, but for some inexplicable reason it was not published and had remained in

Soviet forces, for a short time, occupied Persian Azarbajjān. Although the official Soviet claim was somehow muted later on, modern Azeri historians, especially after 1991, consistently and incorrectly refer to Iranian Azarbajjān as southern Azerbaijan in all their publications.

¹ No 19th-century Russian writer, including those mentioned by Bunyatov, would have referred to the inhabitants of the aforementioned khanates as Azerbaijanis; the common term used in all Russian sources was Turks, Persians, Muslims, or Turko-Tatars.

² Bunyatov conveniently does not supply references to the above inaccurate statement. In fact, Griboedov was one of the main proponents of the repatriation of the Armenians who, in 1604, had forcibly been removed from the Erevan-Nakhichevan regions and taken to Persia by Shah 'Abbās I. Russian officials also encouraged the immigration and demanded that it be included as Article XII of the Treaty of Turkmenchay.

³ The Russian government financed the immigration across the Arax; 14,000 gold rubles and 400 silver rubles were spent to relocate approximately 40,000 individuals. See S. Glinka, *Opisanie pereseleniia armian' Adderbidzhanskikh v' pred'ly Rossii* [The Account of the Immigration of Armenians from Azerbaijan into Russia] (Moscow, 1831), 92.

⁴ *Kratkaia istoriia*, 3.

the archives of the Institute. Now, half a century later, Bunyatov decided to publish the work. In comparing the original Armenian with Bunyatov's edition (see the original Armenian text and the English translation included in this volume), it becomes evident that either Ter-Grigorian mysteriously anticipated the current arguments over Karabagh and sought to substantiate Azeri claims fifty years before they were made, or, as is more likely, Bunyatov, whose alteration of texts has been previously documented,¹ edited parts of Ter-Grigorian's translation. Since Ter-Grigorian is no longer alive to verify what was supposedly his introduction and translation, we must assume that the late Professor Bunyatov, once again, deliberately altered a primary source to suit the aims of the state. Such acts were common during the regime of Stalin, but are reprehensible, as well as incomprehensible, in modern times.

Bunyatov continued his misinformation by referring to the author as Hasan-Jalalean, rather than his Armenian surname (as it appears in the original) Hasan Jalaleants'. He also referred to him as an Albanian, whose ancestors were the famed Albanian Mihranid (Mukhranid) princes.² Furthermore, his title "A Short History of the Country of Caucasian Albania," and his substitution of the term "Albanian" for "Armenian" in key sentences (see Armenian and English texts), as well as the deletion of Esayi's introduction, with its overtly Christian sentiments, make it appear that the population referred to in the text was not Armenian or even Christian, but scions of Caucasian Albanians and that Hasan Jalaleants's history is about Caucasian Albania and not the Armenian populated districts of Karabagh-Ganje.³

His introduction also not only asserts that the Kat'oghikosate of Aghuank' was totally independent from Ējmiatsin, but was also non-Armenian in character. He also accuses the Armenian Kat'oghikosate [at Ējmiatsin] of "dismantling the Albanian See by bribing the Holy Synod of Russia in 1837, taking over all the income of those dioceses, and forcing the Gregorian Armenian faith upon the ancestors of the Albanians, part of whom had accepted Islam." This fact, he claims, is evident in the double Azeri-Armenian names such as Melik-Abas, Melik-Shahnazar, Melik-Egan, Melik-Aghajan, Melik-Aghalar, Me-

¹ See page 10 n. 2.

² *Kratkaia istoriia*, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

lik-Aslan, Melik-Pasha and so forth. Furthermore, in order to create the office of the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians, "Ējmiatsin had to terminate the Kat'oghikosates of Aght'amar, Sis, and Gandzasar." He goes on to lament the fate of "Armenian Catholics, Armenian Jews,¹ and Armenian Gypsies, who were left out of the fold."²

Refuting Bunyatov's Assertions

By examining archival and primary material written more than two centuries before the current struggle over Karabagh, one can easily and conclusively dismiss Bunyatov's assertions.

First: Easyi was not Albanian. In the preface of his *Brief History*, which is not included in Bunyatov's edition, Esayi clearly identifies himself as an Armenian.³ Esayi, as noted, was descended from the Armenian general Hasan,⁴ an ally of the Armenian Artsruni family in the tenth century. Three centuries later, General Sargis Mkhargdzeli and his sons, Zak'are and Ioanné, served as commander-in-chief (*amir-spasalari*) and court counselor (*atabeg*) respectively in the service of Queen T'amar of Georgia, a member of the Armeno-Georgian Bagratid dynasty. Their sister Khorishan married Wakhtang II, a Georgian Mukhranid prince. They were clearly, therefore, not Albanian, but Armenians with Georgian blood ties. Following the Mongol invasion of Georgia, they settled in the highlands of Khach'en, in Karabagh,⁵ where a family patriarch had built the great Armenian ca-

¹ The term Armenian Jew is not explained. Whether it refers to Armenians who had converted to Judaism, Jews who had become Christian Armenians, or Jews who lived in Armenia is unclear.

² *Ibid.* For some reason, the Armenian Protestants are spared these allegations.

³ See page 32 n. 2.

⁴ Following the Arab conquest of Armenia, a number of Armenian princes took Arab names such as Ḥasan, Smbat (Sinbād) and Abas ('Abbās) in order to show their loyalty to the Caliph in Baghdad. They did not convert to Islam, however, but remained members of the Armenian Church.

⁵ See W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (New York, 1971), 104, 260; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I (St. Petersburg, 1856), 470.

thedral of Gandzasar.¹ Not only would it have been unthinkable for the Armenians of the region to elect a non-Armenian as their kat'oghikos; such a person would have not been accepted by the Mother See of Ējmiatsin.

Esayi's title of his brief history is *Patmut'wn hamarōt Aghuanits' Erkri*. The Armenian term *erkir* has many meanings: land, country, region, territory, earth, district, or province. Esayi's narrative concerns the conditions of the Armenian population of the various districts in Karabagh, Ganje, and Shirvan, that is, the Armenian dioceses under the jurisdiction of the Armenian See at Gandzasar, during the difficult times of the decline and fall of the Safavid Kingdom and the Lezgi incursions into the dioceses under his care. Esayi's work is not a history of the ancient Caucasian Albania, which did not exist at his time, but covers the events in Karabagh and Ganje from 1702 to 1723.

Therefore, the term *erkir*, as used by Esayi, does not translate as "country" but as "region" or "districts." This is made clear by a *farman* (decree) of Shah Solṭān Ḥosein who, at the end of 1701, confirmed Esayi as the kat'oghikos. His decree does not mention the country of Aghuank', but states the following: "At this time, Kat'oghikos 'Isa (Esayi), the best among dignitaries, has informed us that the kat'oghikosate of the Armenians living in the *mahals* (districts) of Ganje, Qarabagh (Karabagh) and Shirvan, which had previously been bestowed to his paternal uncle Irimia (Eremia II), was usurped, after Eremia's death, by Simavun (Simēon IV) with no authorization. Since the Armenians of these places have given their consent to his [Esayi's] kat'oghikosate, he has consequently presented us with a document sealed by the *Sheikh'ul-islam* of Qarabagh and signed by a group of witnesses. He has asked us to grant the abovementioned post to him."²

Second: Bunyatov implies that after the initial 200 families, a flood of Armenian immigrants arrived in Karabagh from Persia fol-

¹ Since the Georgian Church had separated itself from the Armenian Church in 609, the family would not have built an Armenian church if they were not Armenian.

² Matenadaran Archives, Persian documents, folder 2b, doc. 142; facsimile in K. Kostikyan, *Decrees*, III (Erevan, 2005), 640-642. The document states that Esayi paid a large sum in gold for the said decree.

lowing the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828). What he fails to note is that the above 200 families (some 1,000 people) were, in fact, the only Armenian immigrants from Persia into Karabagh. This is clearly noted by Sergei Glinka¹ in his statistical data, which were based on the reports of the Russian officials on the scene, immediately after the immigration. He recorded that approximately 40,000 Armenians had crossed the Arax River into Russia.² Since only 1,000 people had gone to Karabagh, where did the bulk of the immigrants settle? According to Ivan Shopen, who cites the official Russian population survey conducted in 1829-1832 in the newly conquered regions, the rest of the Armenian immigrants went to the regions of Erevan, Nakhichevan and Ordubad.³ The survey has the following number of Armenian immigrants from Persia: 23,568 came to the Erevan region, 10,652 to the Nakhichevan area, and 1,340 to the district of Ordubad (see map), for a total of 35,560.⁴ If one subtracts this number from the 40,000 mentioned by Glinka, a little over 4,000 Armenians crossed the Arax into Zangezur and Karabagh, 3,000 settled in southern Zangezur and 1,000 (200 families) went to Karabagh and established the village of Maraghashen. It is amazing indeed that Bunyatov and his colleagues have managed to ignore such primary sources written by non-Armenians, and available in the main library in Baku, long before the current debate over Karabagh.

Furthermore, Bunyatov chose to ignore Esayi's text, which clearly states that in 1722, a 10,000-man Armenian army was prepared in Karabagh to join the Russian army of Peter the Great.⁵ He also overlooks the 12,000 Armenians who had fortified themselves in the highlands of Karabagh.⁶ If the Armenians arrived in Karabagh only after 1828, from where did this large Armenian army appear more than a century earlier?

¹ Glinka, 68.

² *Ibid.*, 92.

³ The three regions were combined to form the new *Armianskaia Oblast'*, or the Armenian Province. It bore that name until 1840.

⁴ I. Shopen, *Istoricheskii pamiatnik' sostoianiiia armianskoi oblasti v' epokhu eia prisoedineniia k' Rossiiskoi Imperii* [Historical Survey of the Conditions of the Armenian Province at the Time of Its Unification with the Russian Empire](St. Petersburg, 1852), 635-638.

⁵ See page 68 of the English translation.

⁶ *Ibid.*

In addition, Bunyatov and his followers have never bothered to examine the 1823 survey conducted by the Russians in Karabagh five years prior to 1828. The survey indicates a large Armenian population in every district of Karabagh.¹

Moreover, the numerous Persian *farmans* dating from 1462 to 1748 regarding the Armenians of Karabagh clearly indicate the presence of a significant number of Armenians long before 1828.²

Finally, numerous documents in the various Russian archives sent by Minas Vardapet, Kat'oghikos Esayi, and the Armenian *meliks* to Peter the Great and other Russian officials, clearly indicate a large and active Armenian presence in Karabagh and Ganje.³ Since most of these documents were published in the 1950s and 1960s, one can only assume that Bunyatov and his followers have deliberately ignored historical facts to substantiate the ridiculous claims of their political leaders.⁴

Third: At no time did the hierarchy at Gandzasar deviate or break away from the Armenian Mass or Church traditions established by Ējmiatsin since ancient times. Unlike the Georgian Church, which separated from the Armenian in 609, the Armenians of Aghuank' retained their Armenian language, churches and their religious traditions throughout this period.

The sole source on the ancient history of Aghuank' is the *Patmut'iwn Aghuanits'* by the Armenian historian Movsēs Dashkhu-

¹ The report on the Khanate of Karabagh was prepared by the State Counselor Mogilevskii and Colonel Ermolov II, in 1823, right after the flight of Mahdi-qoli Khan, the last Muslim Khan of Shushi, to Persia in 1822. The census began on April 17, 1823 and the report was completed on March 26, 1825. Copies are at the State Archives of Tiflis, Baku and Erevan.

² See Persian documents at the Matenadaran Archives, folders 1a-z, 2a-b; facsimiles in H. P'ap'azyan and K. Kostikyan, *Parskeren Hrovartaknerê Matenadaranum (Persian Decrees)*, 4 vols. (Erevan, 1956, 1959, 2005, and 2008).

³ *Armenians and Russia*, docs. 102-110, 121, 124, 134, and 139.

⁴ It is unfortunate that some American and European journalists and historians have reiterated these claims without any verification. Chief among them is Audrey Altstadt, whose *Azerbaijani Turks* (Stanford, 1992) not only repeats Bunyatov's claims verbatim but distorts my study on the Khanate of Erevan to justify those assertions.

rants'i.¹ It states that in the beginning of the fourth century, St. Gregory established Christianity as the main faith of the Armenians, Georgians, and the inhabitants of Aghuank' (referred to as Caucasian Albanians by some historians). He baptized the Armenian King Trdat and Urnayr, the king of the Aghuank', and with their help converted the entire population of Armenia and Aghuank'. At the request of King Urnayr, he [Gregory] sent his grandson Grigoris to be the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'.² From that point on, the Christian faith spread throughout Armenia, Aghuank', and Georgia. Regulations were established which gave St. Gregory autonomy and the right of supreme patriarchy over Armenians, Georgians (until 609), the Christian inhabitants of Aghuank'. Their bishops and patriarchs were to obey his rule and were to be consecrated by St. Gregory and his successors. After that it became imperative that the kat'oghikoi of Aghuank' be named by the successors of St. Gregory, consecrated by them, receive the name of kat'oghikos from them, be subordinate to them, and utter their names before their own in church services.³ Esayi clearly states this in his preface,⁴ which, as noted, is absent from Bunyatov's edition.

It is true that, at times, there were disputes between Ējmiatsin and the kat'oghikoi of Aghuank', but the disagreements did not involve the doctrine of the Armenian Church or the primacy of Ējmiatsin. Rather, they centered on two issues. The first was the collection of church dues owed to Ējmiatsin. As noted, from the early eighteenth century until 1768, Gandzasar took over Ējmiatsin's right to collect dues from the Armenian communities in Russia. The second was due to the ambition of local Armenian bishops, who would proclaim themselves kat'oghikos at the Three Youths Monastery, while the legitimate candidate resided in Gandzasar. Each candidate and his group of supporters would then ask Ējmiatsin to recognize him as the true kat'oghikos (see below), a clear indication that without such sup-

¹ C. J. F. Dowsett, trans., *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranc'i* (London, 1961).

² Grigoris the Parthian (Partew) was in Aghuank' ca. 340-342.

³ Dowsett, 6-8.

⁴ See page 35 of the English translation.

port, the Armenians of Karabagh, Ganje and Shirvan would not accept them as their legitimate patriarch.¹

Historical data based on Persian and Armenian archival documents, which are preserved at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and the Matenadaran Archives, discuss these problems and categorically refute the notion of the independence of Gandzasar from Ējmiatsin. The said archival material is presented in the most important contemporary source of the period, that is, *Jambr*, written soon after the death of Esayi.² A much condensed and paraphrased version is included below:

In 1675, the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank', Petros, died and a local bishop named Simēon³ occupied the throne without the permission of Kat'oghikos Hakob⁴ of Ējmiatsin. He abandoned the Gandzasar See, took all the movable wealth and income of that See and moved it to the Three Youths Monastery near Ganje where he installed himself under the protection of the Muslim governor.

Because of this, Kat'oghikos Hakob deposed him, made a local monk, named Eremia, bishop, consecrated him as kat'oghikos and sent him to occupy the Gandzasar throne.⁵ All the Armenian dioceses of the region recognized him; only the deposed Simēon refused to do so.

¹ Prior to the tenth century, the Armenian Kat'oghikoi of Aghuank' presented a different argument. They claimed that it was Eghishē, a pupil of St. Thaddeus, who had brought Christianity to the land of Aghuank' and not St. Gregory. Ējmiatsin responded that Eghishē's preaching, like that of St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew, both of whom were sent by Christ to bring Christianity to Armenia, Georgia, and Aghuank', was short-lived. All three were martyred and the population soon reverted to paganism. It was Grigoris, Ējmiatsin claimed, the grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, who was the true founder of Christianity in Aghuank' and the disciples of St. Mesrop who brought the Armenian alphabet to the land of Aghuank'. The above debate ended soon after and the kat'oghikoi of Aghuank', like those in Aght'amar and Sis, accepted the supremacy of Ējmiatsin, *ibid.*, 5-6, 54-56.

² For the complete text, see Kat'oghikos Simēon of Erevan, *Jambr*, trans. G. Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, 2009), chapter 10.

³ Simēon IV, anti-patriarch (1675-1701).

⁴ Hakob IV of Julfa (1655-1680).

⁵ Eremia II (1676-1700).

In order to resolve the problem, Kat'oghikos Hakob called both men to Ējmiatsin and took a written oath from Simēon, in which the latter promised to cease to act as kat'oghikos, to anoint and consecrate bishops, and also that none of his relatives would become kat'oghikos. For, there was an illegal custom in the See of Aghuank' by which the relatives of a kat'oghikos, upon his death, would lay claim to the throne. Simēon gave such a note with his seal and the seal of several of his bishops to Kat'oghikos Hakob in the year 1677.¹

Nonetheless, the argument was not settled, continuing instead until the death of Kat'oghikos Hakob, who was succeeded by Kat'oghikos Eghiazar in the year 1681.² Complaints about the two rivals reached Eghiazar. He wrote several times to Simēon, reprimanded him and asked him to put an end to the dispute. But the latter refused to do so. Then, Eghiazar summoned both to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and there, in the presence of a large number of the Synod, reconciled the two. They gave a solemn oath to occupy the throne at Gandzasar together. They promised to use the income of the See for the benefit of the See, instead of their personal use or that of their relatives.

But Simēon once again violated the agreement. His obstinacy caused a number of complaints from the people of Karabagh to Eghiazar. Eghiazar wrote to them to reject Simēon and accept Eremia as their kat'oghikos, in letters that have been preserved. All of the people of Aghuank', clergy and laymen alike, gathered, accepted Eghiazar's letter, and recognized only Eremia. A copy of their missive with numerous seals has been preserved.

In 1691, Kat'oghikos Eghiazar passed away, and in that same year, Nahapet³ ascended the throne at Ējmiatsin. Simēon and Eremia continued their feud until the death of Eremia in the year 1700, and that of Simēon a year later. However, Bishop Esayi, without the permission and knowledge of Kat'oghikos Nahapet, independently declared himself the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'.⁴ Kat'oghikos Nahapet wrote him a reproachful note and forced the self-styled kat'oghikos Esayi to appear at the Holy See, where he was officially installed as

¹ This, like the other documents cited in this introduction, is at the Matenadaran Archives.

² Eghiazar of Aynt'ap (1682-1691). Elected in 1681, consecrated in 1682.

³ Nahapet of Edessa (1691-1705).

⁴ Esayi Hasan Jalaleants' (1702-1728).

kat'oghikos and returned to Aghuank' (1702).¹ Nahapet then wrote an encyclical (1703) ordering everyone to accept Esayi as the kat'oghikos.

After the death of Kat'oghikos Nahapet (1705), the Mother See was without a kat'oghikos for almost sixteen months. During this time, in the fifth year of Esayi's reign, a certain Nersēs,² a priest from the family of the aforementioned Simēon, was, with the help of bribes, consecrated as Kat'oghikos of Aghuank' at the Three Youths Monastery near Ganje, and became the rival of Esayi.

In 1707, Aghek'sandr of Julfa was chosen as the Kat'oghikos at Ējmiatsin.³ In a letter containing many signatures, the Armenians of Aghuank' complained about Nersēs. Aghek'sandr demanded that both Nersēs and Esayi come to Ējmiatsin and face his judgment, which they did. The kat'oghikos prepared an assembly, examined the matter, and found Nersēs guilty of all charges. Thus, in the presence of the assembly, he placed an anathema on him and deposed him from his rank. In addition, in that same year he wrote an encyclical in which he reiterated the existence of the ancient law of St. Gregory, according to which the kat'oghikoi of Aghuank' received their consecration from the hands of the successors of St. Gregory. He reinstated Esayi as the kat'oghikos and sent him back to Gandzasar.

But Nersēs did not stop causing problems. Kat'oghikos Aghek'sandr wrote a new encyclical in 1708, in which he again placed an anathema on Nersēs, calling him the anti-Christ and his followers and those anointed by him as followers of the anti-Christ, reproached the religious leaders and princes who supported him, and once more confirmed Esayi as their kat'oghikos.

In that same year, Kat'oghikos Aghek'sandr wrote to the inhabitants of Shirvan, Sheki and Shamakhi, stating that, although from time immemorial they were part of the diocese of Holy Ējmiatsin, his immediate predecessors, because of the poverty of Gandzasar, had made them subordinate to the See of Gandzasar. Because of this, he too, for the sake of his brother Kat'oghikos Esayi, had conceded to

¹ As noted, Esayi was confirmed by Shah Solṭān Ḥosein at the end of 1701 by paying a large sum in gold to the Shah's officials. His confirmation at Ējmiatsin, however, took place in 1702; hence the start of his reign as kat'oghikos is dated in 1702 in all Armenian Church documents.

² Nersēs V, anti-patriarch (1706-1736)

³ Aghek'sandr of Julfa (1706-1714).

him church dues. But the entire population of Shirvan, Sheki and Shamakhi petitioned Shah Soltan Hosein,¹ stating that from olden times they were included in the domain of Ējmiatsin and had paid their church dues to the kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin and did not wish to be under the jurisdiction of the Gandzasar kat'oghikoi. In 1712, the Shah accepted their petition. The document is preserved at the Holy See.²

In 1714, Kat'oghikos Aghek'sandr passed away and the Holy See was occupied by Kat'oghikos Astuatsatur of Hamadan.³ Nersēs remained excommunicated and insubordinate. It was customary for the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank' to visit and congratulate the newly consecrated Kat'oghikos at Ējmiatsin. But Esayi did not travel there until a long time after Astuatsatur's consecration. This was especially essential for Esayi, since Kat'oghikos Aghek'sandr had defended him and had shunned his rival Nersēs. Because of this lack of consideration, the angry Kat'oghikos Astuatsatur took back for Ējmiatsin the dioceses of Shamakhi, Shirvan, and Sheki, which Kat'oghikos Aghek'sandr had given to Gandzasar.

Then, in 1719, because of the poverty of the Gandzasar See, Kat'oghikos Esayi submissively came to the Holy See, admitted his guilt, and described the calamitous conditions at Gandzasar and its huge debts. Taking pity on him, Kat'oghikos Astuatsatur gave him an encyclical addressed to the inhabitants of Shamakhi and its environs. It stated that they were to accept Kat'oghikos Esayi and to give their church dues once again to his See. They protested, however, and declared that they belonged to the domain of Ējmiatsin and owed Gandzasar nothing. This forced Esayi to once again come to Ējmiatsin in the year 1721 and ask for help. Kat'oghikos Astuatsatur once more wrote an encyclical to the inhabitants of Shamakhi, Sheki, and Qabale⁴ and their environs, reminding them that, from the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, the kat'oghikoi of Aghuank' were like the children and grandchildren of the successors of the Illuminator.

¹ It was written in the month of Rabi' II, 1124 (April 3-May 2, 1712).

² The original is at the Matenadaran Archives, folder 1g, doc. 255; facsimile in Kostikyan, III, 689-690.

³ Astuatsatur of Hamadan (1715-1725).

⁴ One of the historic centers of Aghuank', also called Kapaghak or Kabalaka. An Armenian monastery, Chalēt'oy-vank' (near present-day Nukha/Nukhi), is located there.

He wrote another encyclical to the immigrants and merchants of Ganje, who had stated that since they had come there from the Ējmiatsin region, they did not have to pay anything to Kat'oghikos Esayi. He stated that since they now resided in Gandzasar's domain, they were obliged to pay church dues to Kat'oghikos Esayi. Astuatsatur gave another encyclical to Esayi, addressed to the inhabitants of Nakhichevan, Goght'n, Ghap'an and Tiflis, in which he instructed the communities to voluntarily help Esayi to repay the debts of Gandzasar.

Kat'oghikos Astuatsatur died in 1725 and Kat'oghikos Esayi in 1728. The excommunicated Nersēs appeared once again and illegally assumed the post of kat'oghikos in Gandzasar. In 1726 Karapet of Zeitun occupied the Ējmiatsin throne.¹ He was an old man and lived but a short time; moreover, the chaotic conditions of the time were not conducive to disciplining Nersēs. The Lezgi army had sacked Shamakhi and looted the Gandzasar See; Afghan tribes from Qandahar had seized Khorasan, captured and took control of the Persian capital; the Russians had occupied Gilan; the Ottomans had taken the land of Ararat and Nakhichevan, and had occupied the cities of Tabriz, Tiflis and Ganje.

Kat'oghikos Karapet died in 1729. A year later, in 1730, Kat'oghikos Abraham of Mush² ascended the throne. Nersēs came to the Holy See to congratulate the new kat'oghikos. Although Kat'oghikos Abraham of Mush was aware of Nersēs' past, he received him with kindness and sent him back to Aghuank'.

When Kat'oghikos Abraham died in the year 1734, Abraham of Crete ascended the throne at Ējmiatsin.³ During his reign, Nersēs again came to the Holy See. Either Abraham knew all about Nersēs' usurpation of the Gandzasar kat'oghikosate and ignored it, or because he had recently arrived from the Ottoman lands, he was unfamiliar with the situation. In any case, he received Nersēs graciously and sent him back to his land.

Kat'oghikos Abraham died in the year 1737, and in that same year Kat'oghikos Ghazar of Jahuk replaced him.⁴ In 1737, Nersēs once

¹ Karapet II of Ulnia (1726-1729).

² Abraham II of Khoshab (1730-1734).

³ Abraham III of Crete (1734-1737).

⁴ Ghazar of Jahuk (1737-1751).

again visited the Holy See. He assumed that, as before, he would be acknowledged as the rightful kat'oghikos of Gandzasar. But Ghazar, a clever man, who with the help of *Vardapet* Hakob of Shamakhi, the future kat'oghikos,¹ was fully appraised of the situation, seized Nersēs and forced him to admit his guilt. Kat'oghikos Ghazar censured Nersēs, removed his anathema, and took a written oath, in which Nersēs stated that he would never rebel against the throne of Ējmiatsin. Ghazar wrote a similar encyclical to the Armenians of Aghuank', affixed his seal, asked the senior bishops of the Holy See, as well as Nersēs and the bishops who had accompanied him, to affix their seals and then sent the document to Aghuank'. From that point on, Nersēs remained the legal kat'oghikos and was loyal to the Holy See. He remained so during the reigns of kat'oghikoi Ghazar, Minas,² Aghek'sandr,³ and the above-mentioned Hakob of Shamakhi until 1763, when he finally died.

In that year, while Kat'oghikos Hakob of Shamakhi was still in office and Nersēs was on his deathbed, one of Nersēs' nephews, a young monk by the name of Israyēl, quietly received consecration in Ganje as the kat'oghikos, with the support of the local Khan, Shahverdi,⁴ and several stubborn and willful notables who, together with Israyēl, had left their land for Ganje.⁵ Thus Israyēl became kat'oghikos without the knowledge of Kat'oghikos Hakob of Ējmiatsin or that of the people of Aghuank'.

Israyēl and the Armenian notables that supported him wrote a letter to Kat'oghikos Hakob, asking that he be recognized as the kat'oghikos and the people of Aghuank' be instructed to accept him as well. In an encyclical, Kat'oghikos Hakob accused the new kat'oghikos and those who recognized him of a major crime against the Mother See.

Kat'oghikos Hakob died in 1763, shortly after writing the encyclical. In that same year, Simēon of Erevan succeeded him. He also received a letter from Ganje from the said Israyēl and those who supported him, asking that Simēon recognize him and instruct all the

¹ Hakob V of Shamakhi (1759-1763).

² Minas of Akn (1751-1753).

³ Aghek'sandr II of Byzantium (1753-1755).

⁴ Shahverdi (Shahvardi) Khan of Ganje was from the Qajar tribe and his family remained the khans of Ganje until the Russian conquest in 1804.

⁵ Israyēl (1728-1763).

Aghuank' dioceses to accept him. Simēon demanded that Israyēl appear before him. Israyēl responded that he would come only if Simēon first instructed the people of Aghuank' to recognize him as their patriarch. The Khan of Ganje, Shahverdi, wrote a similar letter in favor of Israyēl.

In 1763, while this correspondence was taking place, a party of fifty *meliks*, laymen and bishops from Karabagh came to visit Simēon at the Holy See. They brought letters with numerous seals addressed to him and to Hōsein 'Ali Khan of Erevan, together with a letter from Panah Khan.¹ They also brought Bishop Hovhannēs² with a request that Simēon consecrate him as the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'. They announced that Israyēl had assumed the title of kat'oghikos without their consent; did not reside at Gandzasar See and was not the legal kat'oghikos. Simēon advised patience while he awaited the response from Ganje. The representatives from Karabagh would not wait, however; they returned home and, in that same year, consecrated Hovhannēs as their kat'oghikos.

Thus, once again, a split occurred among the Armenian leadership in Aghuank'. On the one side were the Armenians of Ganje with their khan, Shahverdi; on the other, the Armenians of Karabagh with their new khan, Ibrahim-Khalīl,³ who was the son of Panah Khan. The inhabitants of the other districts, that is, Shamakhi, Shirvan, Darband, and Sheki, begged Simēon to appoint either one of the contenders and end the confusion.

This discord continued for three years. Then, in 1765, Ibrahim Khan and the entire population once again sent Hovhannēs to Ējmiatsin, accompanied by several bishops and princes with numerous petitions, asking Simēon to appoint either Hovhannēs or Israyēl, or someone else of his own choosing. Simēon again asked Israyēl to come to Ējmiatsin to resolve the issue. He even asked King Erekle II of Georgia to intercede with the Khan of Ganje. When Israyēl refused to respond, Simēon recognized Hovhannēs as the sole Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'. The latter signed an oath with his personal seal in front of

¹ Panāh Khan Javānshīr, the khan of a part of Karabagh from 1748 to 1762. He fought some of the Armenian *meliks* and was friendly with the others. For details, see *ibid.*

² Hovhannēs X Hasan Jalaleants' (1763-1786).

³ Ibrahim Khan Javānshīr was the khan of parts of Karabagh from 1762 to 1806.

many witnesses, which stated that he would be subject to the kat'oghikoi of Ējmiatsin. Simēon sent an encyclical to the Armenians of Aghuank' reminding them of their subordination to the successors of the Illuminator.

Fourth: There was no conspiracy on the part of Ējmiatsin to destroy the See of Gandzasar. The decline and fall of Gandzasar began when Ibrahim Khan stepped up his attacks on the Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh. This aggressive policy forced the *meliks* once again to look to Russia, as they had done during the reign of Peter the Great, to help them end Muslim oppression in Armenian-populated areas. They and Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs Hasan Jalaleants' sought aid from Catherine the Great. Ibrahim killed a number of the *meliks*, arrested Hovhannēs in 1786 and murdered him two years later.

Bishop Sargis Hasan Jalaleants', a relative of Hovhannēs, fled to Ganje in 1786 and sought the protection of Javād Khan. The Gandzasar See remained empty for some time and was looted by Ibrahim Khan. In 1792, Sargis was named Kat'oghikos of Aghuank' by a decree of Javād Khan. In 1794, Ibrahim recognized another candidate, Simēon V, as the kat'oghikos, although the Ējmiatsin hierarchy did not. The latter viewed Sargis II Hasan Jalaleants', who since 1798 had sought refuge at the monastery of Haghpāt on the border of Georgia, as the rightful patriarch. Following the Russian conquest of Karabagh in 1805, the death of Ibrahim in 1806, and the death of Simēon V, Sargis returned to Karabagh in 1808 as the kat'oghikos. He spent four years restoring Gandzasar and reclaiming the looted religious and family objects from various Muslim chiefs. In 1812 he returned to the newly restored Cathedral of Gandzasar.

With Russia in possession of Karabagh and Ganje, and by its recognition of Ējmiatsin as the sole Holy See of the Russian Armenians, the Kat'oghikosate of Aghuank' was dissolved in 1815. Sargis was given the title of Metropolitan and his diocese became a bishopric. After he died in 1828, his relative, Bishop Baghdasar Hasan Jalaleants', was named the Metropolitan of all the Armenians of the Aghuank' region at the request of the *meliks* and Armenians of Karabagh. After 1836, the entire structure of the Armenian Church in Transcaucasia changed. The Armenian Church was recognized by Russia as a separate entity and retained a degree of autonomy denied to the Georgian Church, which became subordinate to the Russian

Orthodox Church. The Armenian clergy remained exempt from taxes and church property was secure. According to the 1836 *Polozhenie*, or "Statutes" governing the Armenian Church in Russia, the Armenian dioceses of eastern Transcaucasia continued to be subordinate to Ėjmiatsin and were divided into two prelacies and one secondary diocese. The first prelacy, centered in Shushi, was composed of Dizak, Varanda, Berdadzor, Khach'en, Chraber (Jraber), Giwlistan (Golestan), Sheki, Kabaghak (Qabale), Haji, Kheni, Kambechan, Arash (Aresh), and Lenkoran districts. The second prelacy, centered in Shamakhi, was composed of Darband, Qobbe, Shirvan, Baku, Salian, and their environs. The secondary diocese, centered in Ganje (Elizavetpol), was composed of the Gardman, P'arisos, and Zaveh districts, which were subject to the Armenian prelate in Tiflis.¹

Fifth: According to Mirza Jamal, Mirza Adigozal Beg, and every Russian source, the *meliks* mentioned by Bunyatov were Armenians and not Muslims. In the mid-fifteenth century, Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu had reestablished the local Armenian princes after their dispossession by Tamerlane, and had granted them hereditary rights and privileges, which they maintained under the Safavid, Afshar, and Zand dynasties, until the Russian took over the region in 1805.

The main *meliks* were the Hasan Jalaleans of Khach'en, the Ava-neans of Dizak, the Beglareans of Giwlistan (Golestan), the Shahnazareans of Varanda and Gardman, the Ulubekeans of Gegham, the Jahanshahs of Tsar, and the Israyeleans of Jraber. There were several autonomous *meliks* in Siwnik'-Zangezur as well. More than forty minor Armenian landowners, sometimes also called *meliks*, who were descended from the gentry, existed in Erevan, Shamakhi, Meghri, Nukhi, Ghap'an, Ganje, Khoi, Maku, Georgia and other Armenian-populated centers.² It was common for some Armenians, especially those in the service of Persia, to adopt Persian names, just as they later adopted Russian-style surnames.

¹ The original Russian text is in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire], Series I-II (Moscow/St. Petersburg, 1830-1885), IX (no. 8970), 194-209.

² The best sources on the *meliks* in English are the various articles of R. Hewsen in the *Revue Des Études Arméniennes* (new series), IX, X, XI, XIV (1972-1980).

If one accepts Bunyatov's argument, then his own surname, which has a Russian suffix, indicates that he was not a Muslim, but belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Sixth: The countless Armenian churches and other architectural monuments found in Karabagh, all of which date back hundreds of years prior to 1828, totally refute Bunyatov's assertions.

Seventh: Despite Azeri claims, the so-called Caucasian Albanians are not the ancestors of the present-day Azeris. The various Turkic groups arrived in this region centuries after the ancient Caucasian Albanians had either converted to Christianity and had adopted the Armenian alphabet, or had been absorbed first by the Zoroastrian Persians and then by the Arab invaders who converted them to Islam. Moreover, according to all ancient sources, the land of the Caucasian Albanians was situated on the right bank (northeast) of the Kur River, while that of Armenia was on the left bank (southwest) and included Artsakh (Karabagh) and Utik' (Ganje). The Azeri claims are analogous to those of modern-day Turks, who claim the Hittites as their ancestors. The Soviets encouraged such notions among the Turkic groups living in Azerbaijan and Central Asia, while Mustafa Kemal Atatürk did so in the Turkish Republic. New alphabets were also introduced to replace the Arabic-Persian script. Numerous Arabic and Persian words, which still form a large part of modern Turkish and Azeri terminology, were given Turkish variants and suffixes and presented to the world as Turkish or Azeri.¹ This was done to distance the Turkic groups from Islam, as well as to instill in them the pride in a glorious, albeit fictional, national identity by claiming the Persian or Byzantine heritage as their own. Hence, the great Persian poet Nezami became the national poet of Azerbaijan; the medieval Persian poets and thinkers of Central Asia, such as Rudaki, became the national poets and philosophers of Uzbekistan, while Rumi was transformed into a great Turkish mystic poet.

¹ After more than seven decades, therefore, many present-day Turks and Azeris, who cannot read the Arabic/Persian script, believe that their vocabulary is composed of purely Turkish terms.

In preparing this volume, I have used the 1868 edition and have examined all the other editions. In addition to my own copious notes and explanations, I have also made use of the notes and introductory material in the French, Georgian, Russian, and Azeri editions. My explanations of the text appear in parentheses or brackets and are therefore easily identified. My main goal was to prepare a translation that was readable and useful without sacrificing the flavor of the original. I have, therefore, retained some of Esayi's repetitiveness, verbosity and style. It is hoped that this, the first English translation, will make Esayi's uncut and unaltered *Brief History of the Aghuank' Region* accessible to a wider scholarly audience.

[vii]¹ Esayi's Preface²

The ancient people, our numerous predecessors, being in our opinion all intelligent and brave thinkers and blessed men, have left to posterity, for our benefit and for their own remembrance, histories composed by them concerning religious and secular events. Knowing the names of many of these, we have listed them here for two reasons. First of all, because it is our intention to tell the events of our own times and, having profited from ancient books and works, we do not want to be ungrateful and pass over in silence the names of those to whom we owe recognition. Secondly, even though many of these authors, be they Jewish, pagans, other Christians—like the Greeks, the Syrians and the Latins (Catholics)—as well as Armenians, our compatriots, their narratives are not bereft of the grace of the Holy Spirit of the Lord, whose feast we celebrate today at the beginning of the Feast of Pentecost.³ [viii] I hope, therefore, to receive, like them, a little of the gift of this generous Giver, who scorns neither Jews, nor pagans, nor shuns Ethiopians, nor anyone who believes in Him, worthy or unworthy.

As I promised before, here are the names of our past historians: Ap'rikanos (Afrikanus); Yesov (Ieso); Hek'esipos (Hesychius of Jerusalem); Hovsep the Hebrew (Josephus); Nsnnos the Religious (Nonnus of Nisibis); Evsebeos (Eusebius of Caesarea); Zovsimos; P'awstos Buzand;⁴ Zenob the Greek (Zenobius of Gazir); Socrates (the Church historian); T'ēodoridos (Theodoret of Cyr); Hovhannēs Jebelu; Theodora; Hovhannēs of Asia (John of Damascus); Kora the Wise; Hakob of Urfa (Jacob of Nisibis); Deacon Disnesios (Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria); Bishop Ignatius of Antioch; Priest Sliwa;

¹ The numbers in brackets correspond approximately to the pages of the original Armenian edition printed in Jerusalem in 1868. I have not always followed the paragraph formations, as they seemed too lengthy for modern readers.

² The entire preface is absent from Bunyatov's edition.

³ Fifty days after Easter. Esayi thus began writing the work during the season of Pentecost of the year 1722.

⁴ Text refers to the work attributed to P'awstos Buzand. See N. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

Hovhannēs of Kesni; Dionēsios, son of Salib; and Patriarch Michael the Syrian.¹

There are also [sources] from our² Armenian nation:³ the reliable Agat'angelos;⁴ the man of God, Movsēs Khorenats'i;⁵ the saint, Vardapet Eghishē;⁶ Ghazar P'arpets'i;⁷ T'ovma Vardapet Artsruni;⁸ Shapuh Bagratuni;⁹ the Armenian kat'oghikos, Hovhannēs;¹⁰ [ix] the historian from Aghuank', Movsēs Kaghankatuats'i;¹¹ Bishop Ukhtanēs of Urfa [Sebastia];¹² Step'annos *Vardapet* Asoghik;¹³ Aristakēs *Vardapet* Lastiverts'i,¹⁴ the hierarch, Matt'eos of Urfa [Edessa];¹⁵

¹ Esayi's rendition of the above names is not always clear; I have tried to find the correct equivalent in English.

² Esayi clearly identifies himself as an Armenian.

³ In order to make the Armenian sources cited by Esayi accessible to the non-Armenian readers, I have, whenever possible, listed the English translations made from the critical editions by the foremost scholars in the field.

⁴ Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians* [R. Thomson, trans.] (Albany, 1976).

⁵ Moses Khorenatsi, *History of the Armenians* [R. Thomson, trans.] (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

⁶ Elishē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* [R. Thomson, trans.] (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

⁷ *The History of Łazar P'arpec'i* [R. Thomson, trans.] (Atlanta, 1991).

⁸ Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'* [R. Thomson, trans.] (Detroit, 1985).

⁹ A 9th-century historian, whose work is lost, but an anonymous history has been ascribed to him; see *Patmut'iwn Ananun zrut's'agir kartsets'yal Shapuh Bahratuni* [M. Darbinyan-Melik'yan] (Erevan, 1971).

¹⁰ *Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i History of Armenia* [K. Maksoudian, trans.] (Atlanta, 1987).

¹¹ Text refers to the sole source on the ancient people called the Aghuank' by the Armenians and Caucasian Albanians by some historians. See Movsēs Dasxurançi, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* [C. J. Dowsett, trans.] (London, 1961).

¹² Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia, *History of Armenia*, 2 parts [Z. Arzumanian, trans.] (Ft. Lauderdale, 1985, 1988).

¹³ Step'anos Taronets'i [Asoghik], *Step'anos Taronets'woy Patmut'iwn tiezerakan* (Universal History) [S. Malkhasean, ed.] (St. Petersburg, 1885).

¹⁴ *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastiverts'woy* [critical edition, K. Yuzbashyan, ed.] (Erevan, 1963).

¹⁵ A. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades, 10th to 12th Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, 1993).

Archpriest Samuēl, from the Cathedral of Ani,¹ *Vardapet* Vanakan of Tawush;² and his disciples, *Vardapets* Kirakos³ and *Vardan*.⁴ Finally, in contemporary times, we have the work of *Vardapet* Arak'el of Tabriz whose history covers the period of sixty-five years, from 1050 (1600-1601) to 1115 (1665-1666).⁵ If there are other historians among us [Armenians] or among foreigners [which we have not included here], we refer you to the more learned writers, for we have mentioned only those whom we have found among the books in our possession.

Among those whom we have mentioned, the more learned of them begin with the Creation and with Adam, the first man, continuing wisely through the centuries and epochs and finishing with our time. Others devote their writing to noteworthy periods, to powerful kings, to distinguished men, and thereby on events great and small that have taken place; or to fierce conquerors, to the enemies of the faith of Christ, enemies of the Church, impious heretics and calamitous events; or to kings and princes, peaceful and pious, who helped their people to prosper and who made it possible to keep the Church on solid ground, and the victories they won over their enemies. [x] These historians have left various reports evoking the admiration of their listeners, revealing their epics for the instruction, the profit, and the warning of posterity.

In this way, the emulators of these virtuous men deserve to be commended; while the evil ones are to be scorned, blamed, and rejected. My dear brothers in the Lord, as these historians have lived

¹ Samuēl Anets'i, *Hawak'munk' i grots' patmagrats'* (Ējmiatsin, 1893).

² Text refers to Hovhannēs Vanakan *Vardapet* Tawushets'i (ca. 1190-1251), who was a prisoner of the Mongols and the teacher of Grigor Akants'i, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, and Vardan Arewelts'i. Several of his short texts have survived. See L. M. Melik'set-Bek, "Hovhannu Vanakani Tavushets'u antip erkerits'," *Ējmiatsin* (1959/60), 35-44; L. Khach'ikyan, "Yaghags Taremtin i Vanakan *Vardapetē* asats'eal," *Banber Matenadarani*, 1 (1941), 151-169.

³ Kirakos Gandzakets'i. *Patmut'yun Hayots'* [critical edition by K. Melik'-Ohanjanyan] (Erevan, 1961).

⁴ Vardan Arewelts'i, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* [Gh. Alishan, ed.] (Venice 1862).

⁵ *The History of Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz* [G. Bournoutian, trans.], 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, 2005-2006).

under Christian monarchs, pious princes, or even under foreign masters and enemies, because of their faith, wanting the public good and for their own popularity and personal good, they have always recounted in their writings, not without sadness, as each intelligent person among you knows, the evils, the afflictions, the torments, the complaints and the joys that have taken place. [xi] At what point and to what extent should we not get down on our knees, lament, complain about our plight, strike our head with our hands, and express our sorrow about our ruin? Deprived as we are not only of our kings and princes, but even of foreign masters and evil tyrants under whom unwillingly we have lived so long in submission.¹ Because even though they were enemies of our Church and religion, nonetheless they did not want our complete destruction. They fleeced us and took away our goods, but at least they defended our peace and tranquility against strangers from the outside.² The Lord has removed them from the earth, be it in punishment for our imponderable and immeasurable sins; be it because they themselves [rulers] have gone beyond what nature allowed and even their own law permitted. Because of pillaging, theft, receiving illicit gifts, committing infamous acts, in short for all sorts of crimes, God has judged them deserving of retribution. [xii] He who knows the actions which have not yet occurred, for Who that which is not, is the same as that which is, and Who rewards all according to their merit.

You, therefore, chose the one who seems appropriate; for myself, I have experienced the words spoken by our Savior, "I will strike down the shepherd and the sheep will scatter."³ It is this judgment that has befallen us. Deprived for a long time of a friendly shepherd, our co-religionists [the Armenians] have become the divided spoils of foreign masters with another religion. We have been shipwrecked, waving our hands and legs helplessly among tumultuous waves. We have not been able to find a haven anywhere. I know those plaintive elegies, those sinister prophecies that holy men of yore and of modern times have written about our present time, about us and not themselves. Hence there is no need to repeat them. I am well aware of the extent of my own weakness. I realize how feeble I am, ignorant, more useless than [xiii] any infant, than any servant of the Church, and that

¹ Text refers to the fall of the Safavids.

² Text refers to the Lezgis.

³ Matthew 26.31.

my colleagues and contemporaries view my life as weighed down by sin. Seeing better and being wiser than myself, they have not found it appropriate to be silent. Despite everything, they have not resisted the impulse of their hearts under these intolerable afflictions. I throw myself into the arms of the all-powerful Lord and the Holy Spirit, Who is liberal in His gifts, Who makes the deaf hear, makes the dumb speak, to the good prayers of the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, of our blessed father, the great Gregory the Illuminator, and all the holy and virtuous fathers and brothers. I pray for myself and for my soul to undertake this work, which is disproportionate to my ability, through the love for piety of your sweet brotherhood.

Consequently, I beg immediately and humbly for you to condescend like good Disciples of Christ, to help me with your prayers and not to condemn or scorn me, to aid me with your strength, following the vow of our religious order. Because, as is written in many passages of the Holy Scriptures, charity treats the humbler with more respect and praise than those that are higher and grander. [xiv] For the Lord valued the widow's mite more than those who donated money to purchase [sacrificial] baby goats for the Church altar.¹ It is in this manner that I beg you to accept my offering, for, in these dark and troubled times, this is all that I can offer to my future readers. For the glory of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and for the good of my listeners!

The humble servant of God
The Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'
Tēr Esayi Hasan Jalaleants'

¹ Esayi substitutes the temple for the Church altar, in the passage cited in Mark 12.41-44.

[1] Chapter 1

[Historical Background]

At the time of their domination, the Persian nation, which follows the religion of Muḥammad [Islam], ruled the following lands, which it had conquered by force.¹ Starting from the Caucasus Mountains and the shoreline of the Caspian Sea (which is called the Iron Gates),² to Mazandaran³ and Astarapad (Astarabad);⁴ further on, it bordered the land of the Yozbeks (Uzbeks) and all of Khorasan, reaching the fortress of Ghandahar (Qandahar).⁵ From there it touched the shores of the Indian Ocean and stretched to the cities of Bandar⁶ and Shiraz.⁷ The territory of this state reached Babylon.⁸ From there its borders stretched to Hamadan⁹ and to Lake Van, from where it continued to the borders of the land of the Mar,¹⁰ and to Khoi¹¹ and Salmast (Salmas).¹² By Nakhjawan (Nakhichevan) it reached the Eraskh (Arax) River [2] and from there it went to Sahat',¹³ Kaghizman (Kağizman),¹⁴ and Koghb (Kulp),¹⁵ reaching the Akhurian River, which is called Arpachay.¹⁶

¹ In this paragraph Esayi delineates the borders of the Safavid Kingdom at its height.

² The city of Darband (Derbent), which was called Demir Kapısı (Iron Gates) in Turkish, see map. Darband means barrier in Persian.

³ The Persian province on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.

⁴ The region and city of Astarābād, southeast of the Caspian shoreline; see map.

⁵ The fort city of Qandahār (Kandahar) in southern Afghanistan.

⁶ Bandar 'Abbās, the main Persian port on the Persian Gulf.

⁷ Shirāz, the main city of the Persian province of Fārs.

⁸ The city of Baghdad.

⁹ The ancient city of Ecbatana, the center of the Persian province of 'Araq-i 'Ajam.

¹⁰ Armenian medieval sources refer to the Kurds as the people of "Mar."

¹¹ A town in the northwestern Iranian Āzarbāijān.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ It refers to Sahabad (Margan) in northwestern Āzarbāijān.

¹⁴ The Turkish town of Kağizman in the Kars region.

¹⁵ The settlement of Kulp (Tuzluca) in present-day Turkey.

¹⁶ The river forms the present-day border between Turkey and Armenia.

Further on, its borders went through the province called Ghayghlui,¹ along the domains of Georgia, to the city of Tp'khis (Tiflis),² and to Kakhet'i,³ with all its *t'ems*⁴ and *t'umans*,⁵ and reached the Caucasus Mountains. By the mountains it reached the fort of Hunaraker (that is Darband),⁶ to where the domain of the mountain tribes, led by the *shamkhal*,⁷ whose residence is called T'arkhu (Tarku).⁸

At present, the Persian people, called the Ghzêlbash,⁹ rule over the entire territory of this eastern land, which reaches to the southern border of the land of the Europeans, who live in the north.¹⁰ The main residence [of the Persian rulers], where the throne of their state is located, is the famed capital city of Shōsh, that is, Aspahan (Isfahan).¹¹ The kings, who reside there, govern their subject peoples, spreading the wings of their rule right and left.

However, we are puzzled about their genealogy; from what clan or family is their royal dynasty? From where do they claim their beginnings? For, our saintly father, [3] Movsēs, the Grammarian,¹² relates the following to us: "The Parthian, Arshak the brave,¹³ drove out the

¹ One of the regions of medieval Georgia.

² The city of Tiflis (present-day Tbilisi).

³ The medieval Georgian Kingdom of Kakhet'i in eastern Georgia.

⁴ From the Byzantine *thema* (districts or regions).

⁵ From the Persian *tūmān* (a province which is capable of furnishing 10,000 men).

⁶ It is not Darband. The Russian translation has Khunzakh, but Ulubayan contends that it refers to a fort at the confluence of the Kur and Khram rivers.

⁷ *Shāmkhāl* was the special title of the rulers of Tarku.

⁸ The town of Tarki or Tarku in Daghestan.

⁹ It refers to the Qezelbāsh (from the Turkish Kızılbaş/Kizilbash or Red head), the general name given to the Safavids and their followers, who wore caps with twelve red lines (indicating they followed the twelfth Shi'i imam). The Ottomans and others referred to the Safavids and the Persians as the Kizilbash throughout the 16th-18th centuries.

¹⁰ Text refers to the Russians.

¹¹ Armenian medieval sources mistakenly identified Isfahan with the ancient city of Shush or Susa. See *The History of Arak'el of Tabriz*, II, 315.

¹² Text refers to the fifth-century Armenian chronicler, Moses of Khoren.

¹³ Text refers to Arsaces who founded the Parthian Arsacid Kingdom in ca. 250 B.C. The dynasty ruled over most of the former Achaemenid Persian

Macedonians, the sons of Alexander's ward,¹ who ruled over the Persian Kingdom for more than sixty years. He appointed his brother, Vagharshak, as second in command and sent him to Armenia."² In this manner, the kings of the two peoples, the Persians and Armenians, came from the same family and remained so until the Sasanid Ardashir³ killed the Arsacid Artawan⁴ and seized the Persian Kingdom. He and his successors ruled over the people until the appearance of Muḥammad.⁵ Thirty years or so after the establishment of his (Muḥammad's) rule, the Persian king, Yazdgerd,⁶ was killed and his domain was conquered [by the Arabs].⁷

A certain man called Mahmud⁸ conquered Bahl (Balkh) and the region up to Khorasan. After that, his successors, who ruled one after the other, enlarged their domain and took Hṛe (Herat).⁹ Mahmud's son, Maskhud,¹⁰ from Herat seized Nshapur (Nishapur), Khazuin (Qazvin), Isfahan and all the provinces along the Arax River and Kurdistan (this according to the saintly *Vardapet Vardan*).¹¹ He [Vardan] goes on to state that [4] sons succeeded fathers and for a long time they remained in Qazvin. Their names are as follows: Abu-'Ali,

Empire until A.D. 224 and managed to install a branch in Armenia (Arshakuni Dynasty), which ruled all or parts of Armenia from A.D. 66 to 428.

¹ It refers to the companion of Alexander, General Seleucus and his dynasty (the Seleucids), who ruled over all or parts of the Persian Empire after the death of Alexander the Great (311 B.C. to A.D. 64).

² It refers to Valarsh or Vagharsh (117-138/40).

³ It refers to Ardashir I, the founder of the Sasanid Dynasty in Persia (ca. 224-640).

⁴ It refers to Artabanus IV, the last Arsacid ruler in Persia.

⁵ The Prophet Muḥammad (ca. 570-632).

⁶ It refers to Yazdgird III (632-651).

⁷ It refers to the Arab conquest of Persia, which began in 640.

⁸ It refers to Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznavi (988-1030). He thus bypasses the various dynasties that ruled Persia for three centuries.

⁹ Text refers to the city of Herat in present-day Afghanistan.

¹⁰ Text refers to Sultan Mas'ūd I Ghaznavi (1031-1041), during whose reign the Ghaznavid Empire stretched from Lahore to Isfahan.

¹¹ Text refers to the Armenian historian and widely traveled scholar Vardan Arewelts'i (ca. 1200-1271). His *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* was published in Moscow in 1861 and Venice in 1862.

Dawut', Zaghrbēg, Abu-T'alib, and Toghrilbēg,¹ [the last], of whom, thanks to the Caliph,² became almighty and was given the title of Sultan.³ He enlarged his domains from the borders of Khorasan and conquered all of Persia.

His brother's son, Arp'aslan (Alp Arslan),⁴ succeeded him, after him Mēlik shah (Malik-Shah),⁵ after him, Sultan Mahmud,⁶ and after him came Bak'arukh.⁷ The son of Sultan Mahmud defeated Bak'arukh and became the Sultan.⁸ After Sultan Mahmud, his son became the ruler.⁹ A certain Sultan Sanjar killed him and seized the reign of power.¹⁰ His son Dawut'¹¹ followed him and after him came Toghril (Toghrül).¹² After him came Makhsud¹³ and then another Toghrül.¹⁴ After him came Alp Arslan; he took the city of Ani and its domains up to the borders of Georgia and was honored by the Caliph.¹⁵ Another Toghrül¹⁶ succeeded Alp Arslan.

¹ It refers to the first Seljuk ruler Rukn-ad-Dunya-wa-d-Din Toghril I (1038-1063). Esayi makes it appear that the Ghaznavids and Seljuks were related and ruled over the same regions one after the other.

² It refers to the 'Abbāsid Caliph Al-Qā'im (1031-1075).

³ Text here refers to the Seljuks and not the Ghaznavids.

⁴ It refers to 'Adud-ad-Dawla Alp-Arslan (1063-1072). Text refers to him as Arp'aslan and Alp'aslan.

⁵ It refers to Jalāl-ad-Dawla Malik-Shah I (1072-1092).

⁶ It refers to Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd I (1092-1094).

⁷ It refers to Rukn-ad-Dīn Berk-yaruq (Barkiyāruq)[1094-1105].

⁸ It refers to Mu'izz-ad-Dīn Malik-Shah II (1105).

⁹ It refers to Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad I (1105-1118).

¹⁰ It refers to Mu'izz-ad-Dīn Sanjar (1118-1157).

¹¹ It refers to Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Da'ud (1131-1132).

¹² It refers to Rukn-ad-Dīn Toghril II (1132-1134).

¹³ It refers to Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Mas'ūd (1134-1152).

¹⁴ Esayi must have confused Mu'in-ad-Din Malik-Shah III with yet another Toghrül.

¹⁵ There is an error here. Alp Arslan took Ani on August 6, 1064; hence he could not be the Alp Arslan mentioned here. Esayi probably refers to Mu'izz ad-Dīn Arslan (1161-1176).

¹⁶ It refers to the last of the Seljuks of Persia, Rukn-ad-Din Toghril III (1176-1194).

After that came the Shah Armen,¹ and after that, Eldkuz,² and then his sons: P'ahlawan³ and Khzilaslan⁴, who ruled the land together. This continued until the Armenian year 626 (1177). We did [5] not find anything in the interim. The same Vardapet [Vardan] tells us that in the Armenian year 674 (1225) the Tatars (Mongols) came from Khorasan and drove out the sons of Khorazmshah.⁵ The *vardapets* and historians, Vanakan,⁶ Kirakos,⁷ and the aforementioned Vardan have informed us of the details of the coming of the Tatars, their driving out Sultan Jalaladin⁸ from Khorasan, their arrival in our land, their victories and the conquest of all the land, their division by lot of the universe, their many evil deeds, and how they treated the various peoples of the east, west, south and north. They bring the history of their tyranny up to the year 715 (1266). After that, we have not found any information on the duration of their reign, about their demise, who was it that drove them out of our land and destroyed them, or any evidence of who conquered Persia and ruled over it before the year 836 (1386), that is, until the arrival of T'amurlank.⁹

¹ It refers to the Shah-Arman ruler, Sayf-ad-Din II (1128-1183).

² It refers to the Eldigüzid Atabeg Shams-ad-Din Eldigüz (1137-1175).

³ It refers to the Eldigüzid Atabeg Nuşrat-ad-Din Pahlavan Muḥammad (1175-1186).

⁴ Text refers to the Eldigüzid Atabeg Muzaffar-ad-Din Qizil Arslan 'Uthman (1186-1191).

⁵ Text refers to the Khwārazm-Shah dynasty of Central Asia and Khorasan (ca. 1077-1231).

⁶ Vardapet Hovhannēs Vanakan Tawushets'i (1180-after 1251) was an Armenian theologian and scholar and a pupil of Mkhit'ar Gosh. Some of his theological works have survived, but his history of the Mongol attacks on Armenia has not. Kirakos of Gandzak, Vardan Arewelts'i, and others were his pupils. Despite the fact that Vanakan was an Armenian and wrote in Armenian, Bunyatov refers to him as an Albanian historian.

⁷ Text refers to the Armenian historian Kirakos Gandzakets'i (1200-1271), who, in the 13th century, wrote a *History of Armenia*; see *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (Moscow, 1858 and Erevan, 1961). Bunyatov refers to him as an Albanian historian, despite the fact that Kirakos was Armenian, wrote in Armenian, and his work is called *History of the Armenians*.

⁸ Text refers to the last of the Khwārazm-Shahs, Jalāl-ad-Din Mingburnu (1220-1231).

⁹ Text refers to Tamerlane (Temür) or Timur the Lame (1370-1405).

He also tore up and swallowed the land like a wild beast; he trampled the other regions he came upon. The entire universe, from Smrghand (Samarqand) to Samaria¹ and [6] Egypt had to pay him tribute. In a period of eighteen years² he put the entire adult population to the sword. He destroyed all the churches wherever he set foot. The details of his evil deeds are recounted by T'ovma Vardapet Artsruni.³

After him, they [historians] tell us about the coming of the malevolent Ghara Yusup',⁴ in the year 857 (1408), and his all-encompassing evil deeds. After that, in the year 870 (1421), there appeared another great evildoer, Shahruk',⁵ and after him Chaghat'ay,⁶ and after him, Jhanshah,⁷ a Turk by birth, who in the year 883 (1439) conquered all of Persia and declared himself king. His son, Eaghub (Ya'qub),⁸ succeeded him in the Armenian year 932 (1483). This King Ya'qub, who sat in the capital city of Tabriz,⁹ gave his sister¹⁰ to Shēkh Haydar (Sheikh Haidar),¹¹ the son of Shēkhsefi (Sheikh Şafî),¹² who ruled in Ardawil (Ardabîl). We have not found any information

¹ Esayi either refers to the region in Palestine, or to the second 'Abbāsīd capital of Samarra, near Baghdad.

² Timur died in 1405 in Samarqand.

³ Text refers not to T'ovma Artsruni (the 10th-century Armenian historian), but to the Armenian historian T'ovma Metsopets'i (1378-1446) and his *Patmut' iwn Lank-T'amuray ew hajordats' iwrots* (Paris, 1860).

⁴ Text refers to Qara Yūsuf Qara Qoyunlu (1389-1400, 1406-1420).

⁵ Text refers to the Timurid Shah Rukh (1405-1447).

⁶ He was called Taraghay, but was known as Ulugh Beg (1447-1449).

⁷ Text refers to Jahān Shah Qara Qoyunlu (1438-1467).

⁸ Text refers to Ya'qūb Aq Qoyunlu (1478-1490). He was not the son of Jahān Shah. Esayi has confused the two Turkmen groups.

⁹ Tabriz was selected as the capital of the Ilkhanid Mongols. It remained the main administrative center of Persia until Shah Tahmāsp moved his capital to Qazvin and Shah 'Abbās I to Isfahan.

¹⁰ Her name was 'Alemsah Begum; she was the daughter of Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu and the sister of Ya'qub.

¹¹ He died on July 9, 1488.

¹² He was not the son of Sheikh Şafî; Sheikh Şafî (1252-1334) was the founder of the Şafaviyya order in Ardabîl.

about when he assumed the title of Sheikh, about his descendents, or when they settled there.¹

Sheikh Haidar had a son, whom they called Ismayēl (Ismā'īl).² Since King Ya'qub did not have any children, the Sheikh and his wife decided to kill Ya'qub in any way possible, [7] so that the succession would go to them and their son. To accomplish this deed, they invited him to their home and prepared a poisonous meal. When he (Ya'qub) began to eat, he immediately realized that the food was poisoned and forced them (the husband and wife) to eat the food as well. Therefore, the King, his sister and the Sheikh died at that same hour.³ When unrest rose among the army, they hurriedly whisked the young Isma'il to the island of Aght'amar.⁴ This account is from Vardapet Aṛak'el of Tabriz.⁵

After that, everyone struggled against each other to win the throne and grab power. In the year 948 (1499), a certain man called Sikhur⁶ conquered and submitted the entire land to his will and established his throne in Isfahan. After him came Alvand (Alvand)⁷ for a short time and this continued until the Armenian year 950 (1501).

¹ As noted, the Ṣafaviyya, which was a Shi'i ṣūfī order centered in Ardabīl and gradually spread throughout Āzarbāijān and eastern Anatolia. For more details, see *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI (Cambridge, 1986), 190-191.

² Text refers to the first Safavi monarch, Shah Ismā'īl (1501-1524).

³ Sheikh Haidar died on July 9, 1488 in a battle against the Turkmen. This folk tale is taken from the *History of Aṛak'el of Tabriz*, II, 440.

⁴ This is yet another folk tale repeated by Aṛak'el. After defeating the Shirvan-Shah and Alvand, Ismā'īl entered Tabriz in the summer of 1501 and began the Safavid dynasty.

⁵ *History of Aṛak'el of Tabriz*, II, 440. Aṛak'el died in 1670. His *History* covers the period from 1602 to 1662 and is a primary source. Chapter 55 of the *History* has a *Short History of Aghuank'* by Vardapet Hovhannēs of Tsar and not by Aṛak'el, as stated erroneously in the Bunyatov edition.

⁶ Text refers to Baysonqur Aq Qoyunlu (1490-1493).

⁷ Text refers to Alvand Aq Qoyunlu (1498-1504). He controlled parts of Āzarbāijān, but was defeated near Nakhichevan by Shah Ismā'īl in 1501 and fled to Diyarbakr where he sought the protection of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I.

As we stated numerous times at the start of this narrative, we are not able to commit to paper everything in order and explain the genealogy of the Persian kings. We have written down everything that we found in the works of historians about famed and excellent men, as well as wrathful and blasphemous men. We have done all this for the pleasure of our beloved brothers. *Eternal Glory to Christ, Our Lord. Amen.*¹

¹ The words in italics are missing from Bunyatov's edition.

[8] Chapter 2

On the Beginnings of the Kingdom of the Persians, Who Are Called the Red Heads [Kizil-bash], and the Disintegration of Their Kingdom

We related the murder of King Ya'qub and Sheikh Haidar, and the taking of the youth Ismā'il to the island of Aght'amar. Some time passed until the boy became of age, and the Persian land experienced troubled times.

Thus, the commanders and the army unanimously summoned Ismā'il from the island and installed him as their king, saying, "He is the successor of two ruling branches, from the Sheikh and, as the nephew, from the side of King Ya'qub. He is worthy to be king."¹

Therefore, they submitted to him and bowed to him. In 950 (1501) he, first of all, marched against the aforementioned Alvand, drove him out, and took the reins of power. After that he continued to fight and, after twenty-five years, defeated his enemies, enlarged his domain, increased his power as much as he could, and died in 975 (1526).²

After him, his [9] son Shah T'amaz (Ṭahmāsp)³ ascended the throne. He was a brave and bellicose man. He conquered many provinces, such as Atrpatakan (Persian Azarbaijān),⁴ and seized the land of the Georgians. He enlarged his domain in the regions of Khorasan. According to historians, he improved the conditions of his state and reduced taxes. He died in the year 1024 (1575).⁵

His son, Ismā'il, succeeded him.⁶ He wanted to kill the insidious, disloyal and independent-minded men among his commanders and army, but they forestalled him and killed him in some unknown way.⁷

¹ Once again this is from Aṛak'el, II, 440.

² Esayi repeats Aṛak'el's error. Ismā'il died in 1524.

³ Text refers to Shah Ṭahmāsp (1524-1576).

⁴ As noted, the only Azerbaijan prior to 1918 was the northwestern Iranian province of Āzarbāijān with its capital in Tabriz.

⁵ Esayi again repeats Aṛak'el error. Ṭahmāsp died in 1576.

⁶ Text refers to Ismā'il II (1576-1577).

⁷ He was killed on November 24, 1577 under mysterious circumstances. He was either poisoned, died of a drug overdose, or was murdered by the Kizilbash commanders.

After that, they brought his brother, who was named Khodabanda, from Khorasan.¹ He was a man with poor eyesight. He ruled for several years and was a very cruel man.

After that, his son Abas ('Abbās), called the Great, was named shah in Mashad (Mashhad) in the year 1029 (1580).² After a short time, he defeated his enemies and took control over his ancestral lands, starting from Khorasan,³ to [10] the Arax River⁴ and Baghdad,⁵ save for Azarbaijān. The Ishmaelite⁶ King of Constantinople (Istanbul) stood in his way. The terrible Sultan Murad,⁷ called the *khondk'ar*,⁸ dispatched an army with orders to conquer Azarbaijān. They did so and went on to take Erevan, Nakhichevan, Tabriz, and Ganje up to the border of Georgia, all of Georgia including Tiflis, and, on the others side of the Kur River, [they took] Shak'i (Shakki/Sheki), Shrowan (Shirvan), Shamakhi, and Darband. In this manner, the Ottomans conquered so many cities.⁹

A short time after the end of the war in these regions, king Shah 'Abbās, who was peacefully ruling in the capital city of Isfahan,

¹ Text refers to Moḥammad Khodābanda (1578-1587).

² Esayi's chronology is in error. Shah 'Abbās started his reign on October 16, 1587.

³ Khorasan was taken from the Uzbeks in 1598-99. See *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI, 267.

⁴ Esayi is confused about his chronology; 'Abbās reached the Arax in his 1603-1604 campaign against the Ottomans, not before.

⁵ Esayi is once again confused in his chronology. Shah 'Abbās took Baghdad in 1623, long after he had taken Tabriz in 1603. The Persians held it only until 1638, after which it was retaken by the Ottomans and became a permanent part of the Ottoman realm up to the end of WWI.

⁶ Esayi here uses the Biblical term of Ishmaelite (the sons of Ishmael born from Hagar) for the Muslims. Armenian medieval sources also refer to Muslims as Hagarites.

⁷ Text refers to Sultan Murad III (1574-1595).

⁸ From the Persian *khondkar* or *khondgār*, which was the Persian term for the Ottoman Sultan.

⁹ Once again Esayi is confused in his chronology. The Ottoman campaign began in 1578 and resulted in large territorial losses on the part of Persia. 'Abbās was forced to negotiate the Peace of Istanbul (March 21, 1590), which gave Āzarbāijān, Karabagh, Ganje, Shirvan, Daghestan, together with the Safavid possessions in Georgia, Kurdistan and Luristan, as well as Tabriz, to the Ottomans.

turned his attention to Azarbaijān with the intention of conquering it. He came with a large army to Tabriz and, thanks to his good fortune and circumstances, he managed, in a period of one year, to take back from the Ottomans Tabriz, Nakhichevan and Erevan; and after another year, he took Ganje, all of Karabagh, Shamakhi, Darband and their environs, as well as Tiflis and all of the land [11] of the Georgians.¹

After that, he concluded a peace with the king² of the Ottomans,³ by which the borders and provinces of the two states, Persia and Rome (Rum),⁴ were delineated. Occupied constantly by such glorious and military affairs, he died in the year 1079 (1630).⁵

In that same year, his grandson Shahsēfi (Shah Ṣafī) ascended the throne in Isfahan.⁶ He also ruled over his land in a manly and peaceful manner. In the Armenian year 1091 (1642), he left this earth, and left his kingdom to Shah 'Abbās, the Younger ('Abbās II).⁷

This Shah strengthened the throne even more and safeguarded his land and people from the enemies that surrounded it. During his reign, all the broken-down villages and towns were rebuilt in the land of Persia and Armenia, for he was a builder who loved his Christian subjects. Therefore, churches, monasteries, and hermitages everywhere were restored, especially the primary Holy See of Ējmiatsin⁸ and holy Gandzasar⁹ in Aghuank'.¹⁰ This occurred during the reign of the

¹ Text refers to Shah 'Abbās' campaign of 1603-1604.

² Text refers to Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640).

³ The peace of Zuhāb was actually concluded by Shah Ṣafī on May 17, 1639.

⁴ Armenian and Persian sources sometimes referred to the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, or the empire as a whole, as Rum (Rome), after the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire.

⁵ Shah 'Abbās died on January 19, 1629.

⁶ Text refers to Shah Ṣafī I (1629-1642).

⁷ Text refers to Shah 'Abbās II (1642-1666).

⁸ Text refers to the Mother Cathedral of Armenia and the seat of the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians; see Translator's Introduction.

⁹ Text refers to the seat of the Kat'oghikosate of Aghuank'; see Translator's Introduction.

¹⁰ As I stated in the introduction, Esayi uses the term Aghuank' for the region under his ecclesiastical control, that is, the Armenian-populated districts of Ganje, Karabagh, and Shirvan. The Persian administration, as noted, viewed it as such as well. In a decree issued at the end of 1701, Shah Solṭān

saintly Patriarch [12] P'ilippos¹ [in Ējmiatsin] and that of Petros,² the Kat'oghikos of Aghuank'. Leaving the land full of happiness, he (Shah 'Abbās II) died in the year 1100 (1651).³

In that same year, the reign was transferred to his son, Shah Suleyman (Soleimān).⁴ During his time the land was rebuilt even further and it enjoyed peace, justice, and lawfulness. Taxes were reduced, the population increased, and everything benevolent started by his predecessors continued uninterrupted. Thus, ruling over his land and subjects, he [the Shah] died in the year 1139 (1690).⁵

After him, his adolescent son, Shah Sultan Husēin (Shah Solṭān Hōsein),⁶ occupied the throne. This occurred in our time, in the year 1140 (1691).

All that we have written up to now was gathered from ancient history books, especially from the work of Vardapet Aṛak'el, may God bless his soul! We shall now write about the events that occurred in our time.⁷ *Eternal Glory to Christ! Amen.*⁸

Hōsein confirmed Esayi as the Kat'oghikos of the Armenians living in the *mahals* of Ganje, Karabagh and Shirvan. The original Persian document is at the Matenadaran Archives, folder 2b, doc. 142; facsimile is in K. Kostikyan, *Hrovartakner*, III (Erevan, 2005), 640-642.

¹ Kat'oghikos P'ilippos of Aghbak (1633-1655).

² Kat'oghikos Petros Khandzkets'i (1664-1675). Kat'oghikos Petros was the first Armenian Patriarch to send a letter to the Russian court (Tsar Alexei) in 1672; see *Armenians and Russia*, doc. 16. This is another clear indication that the Armenians were in Karabagh long before 1828.

³ He died in 1666.

⁴ He started his reign in 1666 as Šafī II, but on March 20, 1668, on the advice of the court astrologer, he ascended the throne for the second time as Shah Soleimān and ruled until his death in 1694.

⁵ As noted, he died in 1694.

⁶ Shah Solṭān Hōsein (1694-1722) was, for all intents and purposes, the last Safavid ruler.

⁷ As noted, Kat'oghikos Esayi Hasan Jalaleants' ruled from 1702 to 1728. His *Brief History*, however, ends in 1723 with the Afghan occupation of Isfahan, the departure of Peter the Great, and the Lezgi invasions of Georgia and Shirvan.

⁸ The words in italics are missing from Bunyatov's edition.

[13] Chapter 3

On the Trouble in and Destruction of the Persian Kingdom

In the tenth year of his reign, the aforementioned Shah Soltān Hōsein ordered a census of all the Armenians and other peoples living under his rule.

Therefore, his officials, men devoted to him, scribes and secretaries went forth to accurately and without any error, record all the men of age of fifteen and older.

He [the Shah] included the following strict interdict in his decree, "If anyone finds a person hiding or concealed and informs the king, the head of the person in hiding will go to the king and his property will go to the person who informed on him."

Indeed that is what happened, for through various means and with the help of threats they thoroughly searched and found such persons. In each place they searched all the houses and seized the village *tanuter*,¹ the *k'ahana*,² and the *hurēnkāl*, who was also called *gzir*.³ They demanded that they name the inhabitants of each household [14] in the village and recorded it. They then gathered the lists in one place and checked them. If they found a disparity they would hang the above men on a tree and beat them with a stick.⁴ After they received the necessary document, that is, *muchalka*,⁵ they collected a fine ten times more than was required, received an increased amount for the upkeep of the troops, and then recorded the new numbers.

After that, they recorded the monasteries, hermitages, and village churches, listing the bishops, *abeghas*,⁶ *erits*,⁷ and everyone else.

¹ Village elder or chief.

² Ordained priest.

³ From the Persian *gizir* (assistant superintendent; he also received officials or important guests passing through his region, as well as announced the official news).

⁴ Text refers to the Persian punishment known as *falak* or *bastinado*. The culprit was tied to a pole or hung upside down and struck with a rod on the soles of his feet.

⁵ From the Turko-Mongol *muchalka* (bond, promise, note of hand).

⁶ Newly ordained priest.

⁷ Also spelled *erēts*; it refers to married, widowed, or celibate priest.

Finishing this group, they went on to record the merchants, travelers, and even those who had a worthless trade.

Recording everyone in their lists, they took them to the king. Everyone listed was assessed a tax three times larger than before. Even churchmen, who were exempt before, were taxed ten times more than the laymen.

The recording process was finished [15] in three years, for it began in the year 1148 (1699) and in the year 1151 (1702) it was ordered that the new taxes be collected from the population for the three years that had passed. It was ordered that the tax be collected from everyone, even from the churchmen.

Then, the great *vazir*¹ of Azarbaijān, who was called Mirzat'aher (Mirza Tāher) and who sat in Tabriz, arrived with 1,100 men to the land of Karabagh and the city of Ganje and began to collect a higher tax than was due. His army scattered through the districts and villages listed in the records. Since the yoke of the taxes was very heavy and people could not bear it, the troops tortured the population and took whatever they wanted: more from larger settlements and less from smaller ones. Thus, a large village paid 150, 100, or fifty *tumans*, and a small village not less than twenty or thirty *tumans*. They also took money from merchants and all of the tradesmen.

Every year the taxable individuals were recounted and the local tax collectors collected the sum to the penny.

After that, another tax was introduced which they called *apik'uran* (*ab-i kuran*).² Another [16] tax called *shahzadi akhrajat*³ was also introduced. After that, a tax called *shēsh-dinar*⁴ was levied. The above taxes were increased three times.

After that, a royal decree was issued to record all the arable land, bodies of water, orchards, pastures, trees and other growth—everything that was necessary for life—in all the districts, villages and settlements. In the end, everything belonging to Armenians and non-Armenians, including the nomads and animal breeders, was re-

¹ *Vazir* has a number of meanings: counselor of state, king's lieutenant, or civilian chief of a province or region.

² Text refers to the *āb-i kurān*, a tax on the use of water from the irrigation canals.

³ Text refers to *ikhrajāt-i shāhzādah*, a tax collected for the upkeep of high nobles during their travels.

⁴ Refers to an unspecified extraordinary tax amounting to six *dinars*.

corded. At the same time, lists were prepared on the people called the T'arakama.¹ Their pasturelands, herds, flocks of different animals were all recorded. They added all of this to the aforementioned lists.

Everything we write here were new extortions, which were added to previously collected taxes. It must be noted that the previous taxes were also very heavy and now, instead of reducing them, they have added to them.

At the same time, as it is customary in the Persian state, rulers and military commanders called khan, sultan, *ghulbegi*,² *vazir*, [17] *darugha*,³ and *t'uildar*⁴ were appointed to all towns and regions. Prior to this if someone were appointed to such a post, he would not be easily removed or replaced, unless he had committed a major offense or brought great harm to the population. In those cases the plaintiff and accuser would go to the king's court and prove the guilt of the official, who would then be removed. But now, during the reign of this king, a new order was established. The king and his ministers, being extortionists themselves, frequently changed them [the officials] and in a period of one year appointed two or three governors, sending them one after the other to the same city. Arriving there, they, who had received their post by paying money, cast aside all justice and law, and fleeced and robbed their subjects. Their judges, the *Shkhalêslams*,⁵ *shêkhs*,⁶ and those they called the *Ghazi*.⁷

Furthermore, another evil was added: the superintendents of the villages and all other settlements [18], and all those who received a salary, that is a *donlugh*,⁸ including commanders and their troops, had to set aside one-tenth of their salary for the state coffers. However these officials did not pay this not from their own pocket, but exacted it—even more than the ten percent—in taxes collected from their subject peoples. They continued to act in this manner. In addition, they

¹ From the local term *t'arak yama* (nomads).

² Text refers to the head of the palace servants.

³ Text refers to the prefect of a town or village, a superintendent.

⁴ From the Persian *tahvildār* (cash-keeper, treasurer, custodian).

⁵ Text refers to the *sheikhu'l-islam* (the highest religious authority and head of the provincial court).

⁶ Text refers to the *sheikhs* who administered local courts.

⁷ Text refers to the Arabic term *qāzī* (judge). Capitals and lower case are Esayi's.

⁸ From the Turkish *donluk* (salary or clothing money for soldiers).

also introduced other extortions: they forcibly took boys and girls and forcibly converted men and women to Islam. They took the property of their relatives and gave it to those who had converted. We saw with our own eyes how in Erevan and [New] Julfa they reduced many wealthy and prosperous men to poverty and misery. When we asked them the reason, we learned that they had come to be in this situation because of the conversion of their relatives to Islam. For, their property was taken and they were reduced to such a state.¹

In such a manner the well being of the land was destroyed, about which we do not write in detail. And the new order was established everywhere. If, because of the heavy taxes and injustice, enemies appeared who did not obey their rules, [19] the Armenian people, punished by God's justice, suffered because of it, about which I shall write later.

The pitiless and godless behavior of the rulers and officials who robbed the unfortunate, about which we gave some evidence, their godlessness and illegal follies and arguments among themselves, and their overall behavior, went against God and his commandments and resulted in their destruction. *Save us Lord Jesus. Eternal Glory to Him! Amen.*²

¹ Text refers to the so-called "Imam-Jafar law," by which Armenians who had converted to Islam (*jadid ul-islam*) had the right to seize the entire property of their Christian relatives. For more details, see H. P'ap'azyan, "Sefyan Irani asimilyatorakan k'aghak'akanut'yan harts'i shurjê," *Banber Matenadarani*, 3 (1956).

² The words in italics are missing from Bunyatov's edition.

Chapter 4

On the Opponents and Rebels in Various Regions Who Rose Against the Persian Kingdom

Here we see the warning of the prophet Daniel come true¹ and the time of his vision come to pass. As was interpreted by many wise men, the ten horns of rams were the symbol of the ten kings, [20] who rose up within the bosom of the Persian people.² The time of accounting is here. Such was the will of Divine Providence holding in its hands the cup that they had to drink as just retribution. It dispenses the rule over mankind to whom it wills.³ This happened in the time of Shah Soltān Hōsein. In the regions of Khorasan and Qandahar lived the tribes known as Albanians (Afghans).⁴ Regarding these people, some say that they originated from the Caucasus Mountains, from the lands of the Alans,⁵ were Aghuank' by birth, and that they still continue to use that designation. They were Christians, but when the tyrant Tamerlane conquered a large part of the world, about which the historian talks,⁶ he took their tribes from their place of residence and resettled some twenty-five families⁷ of them in this land. After some time they converted to the faith of Muḥammad and then they increased and became *ishkhans*⁸ and commanders in each district of that land. They were independent [21] until the time of the king called Shah 'Abbās, who, after conquering Qandahar, also took those districts and made them obedient to his rule.

This continued under his sons and grandsons until our time, that is, the year 1150 (1701) of our calendar. Then troubles and disturbances began in these regions. These disturbances were caused by another

¹ Refers to Daniel's vision of the four beasts; see Daniel 7.9-28.

² As noted above, Esayi includes Ya'qub Aq Qoyunlu and Sheikh Haidar as Safavid rulers; hence he counts ten kings (instead of the correct eight) prior to Shah Soltān Hōsein.

³ The above passage in italics is missing from Bunyatov's edition.

⁴ Should read "Afghans."

⁵ Text refers to a people that lived near the Scythians.

⁶ Text refers to the Armenian historian T'ovma Metsopets'i.

⁷ Text refers to 25 large clans, which according to T'ovma totaled some 10,000 people.

⁸ The Armenian term for prince or ruler.

tribe, called the Pluch (Baluch). Disturbances also rose in the land of Sovukh-Pulagh,¹ which is populated by Turkmen. One of their leaders, called Suleiman Baba, claimed that he was descended from previous kings, who had lived in the *shahestan*² of Tabriz, that is, from Jahan Shah³ and Ya'qub.⁴

The province of Astarabad and its commander called Adinaghurt also turned away [from the Persian king], as well as the inhabitants of the snowcapped mountains of the Caucasus and the tribes of Lek, who are also called Lezgis, or according to ancient books, Hon (Huns),⁵ who from time immemorial have been the enemies of our land of Atrpatakan, the Armenian people, and our faith.

All these tribes broke away and rebelled against the rule of the Persian king. Each began to loot the regions adjacent to them. They killed and took prisoner its population. [22] This continued not for a year but for a long time. These rebellions continued one after the other at the same time. Although the king sent troops against them and handed out to the soldiers large sums of money through the commanders and officers, it did not do any good and the troops suffered defeats. In some places, the rebellions were put down with great difficulty, not by force of arms, but through concessions. However, in the regions of Qandahar and the Caucasus, the struggle continued for a long time, about which we shall write in its own place, *God willing. Eternal Glory to Him! Amen.*⁶

¹ Text refers to Sovuj-bulagh (present-day Mehavad) in Āzarbāijān.

² From the Persian *shāhestān* (royal residence).

³ Text refers to Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu (1438-1467).

⁴ Text refers to Ya'qub Aq oyunlu (1478-1490).

⁵ Armenian medieval sources refer to the Caucasian mountain tribes as the Huns.

⁶ The above words in italics are missing from Bunyatov's edition.

Chapter 5

On What the Huns (Lezgis) Did Throughout the Entire Region of Aghuank'

It is well known that when a house, or any structure, becomes decrepit, be it large or small, it starts becoming a ruin. [23] First, the foundation and walls crumble, then the ceiling collapses, and then the entire roof falls down and the building is completely destroyed. The same happened to the Persian Kingdom.

From this side of the Caucasus Mountains, in places that are called Ghakh,¹ Jar,² T'ala (Tale),³ and many other settlements, a people who are called Lezgis rose under the leadership of 'Ali-Sultan,⁴ who, prior to this, was appointed by the Shah to govern the land. They all united, declared themselves independent, turned against the shah, and rebelled against him in the year 1161 (1712).⁵ Prior to that they depopulated and took captive the inhabitants of the districts of Iniseli,⁶ Sheki, and Pasnjagh, Mumparak', Zarghat'alu,⁷ and other settlements. They then came to the village of K'andak'⁸ and took away almost all its inhabitants.

With their annual raids they managed to empty the districts lying on both sides of the Kur River: the districts of Sheki, Ghapala,⁹ Dasana¹⁰, up to the environs of the city of Shamakhi. On the other side of the river, [they destroyed] the districts of Ghazakh,¹¹ that is,

¹ Text refers to Kurah or Kakh, a small region southwest of Darband.

² Text refers to the region of Jaro-Belakan.

³ A large settlement in the Zakatal region.

⁴ He was a Zakhur chief, who was appointed as the *beglerbeg* of Sheki.

⁵ The rebellion was ignited by the population of Jar in 1707. The Zakhurs joined the rebellion. It was put down and Jar was burned. In 1711, the people of Jar rebelled once again and, together with the Zakhurs, conducted raids against Shamakhi.

⁶ Text refers to a district of Iniseli in Kakhet'i.

⁷ Text refers to villages in Sheki, near Nukha.

⁸ Missing from Bunyatov's edition.

⁹ Text refers to Qabale, the major town in Shirvan.

¹⁰ The town has not been identified.

¹¹ Text refers to Kazakh.

Akhstev,¹ and the land of Amirsham Shadinlu,² that is, the Zakams,³ [24] as well as the areas along the four rivers Ganjepasan,⁴ that is, Shamkhor, Ganjepasan, the valley of Voskanapat,⁵ and K'iwrak'pasan,⁶ as well as many villages in the region of Partaw.⁷

They slaughtered the population of the villages, which lay on the plain; looted other settlements and took their people prisoner, and turned everything into a desert. The population of the villages that had remained intact saved themselves by fleeing and hiding in the mountains of Artsakh.⁸ Having been saved in its highlands, they were anxious about their lives.

In the year 1170 (1721), that same 'Ali Sultan gathered a large army, not less than 8,000 men, from the same Lezgi tribes and came to the city of Ganje and with his army entered through the nearby village of Sut'ok'ulan.⁹ The population let him enter into the square, (that is, K'ujan). When the Lezgi army entered the streets of the town, the citizens rose, blocked its way from both sides, and killed 1021 men, or a number near that. The Lezgis did nothing; they retreated and with shame returned to their own places.

Everything that we write here occurred in a period of eight to nine years, beginning with the year 1160 (1711). No matter how many times the [25] Shah¹⁰ ordered the Persian troops in Shamakhi, Ganje, and other regions to attack the Lezgis, the khans of these cities, no matter how much they tried, could not defeat them, but suffered defeats themselves. For example, such was the case with Hasan 'Ali

¹ Text refers to present-day Aghstafa (Akstafa).

² Text refers to Shamshadil.

³ Text refers to Upper and Lower Zakam, also known as Zagam, located in the Utik' province of Greater Armenia,

⁴ Text refers to the plain lying between the Shamkhor and Ganje-chay rivers.

⁵ Text refers to the present-day Zurnabad.

⁶ Text refers to the plain by the Kurak-chay River.

⁷ Text refers to the ancient Armenian religious center of the Utik' (Ganje) Province, renamed Barda' by the Arabs (present-day Barda).

⁸ Esayi uses the Armenian historic designation for the Karabagh region.

⁹ Text refers to the settlement of Sutekulian, where the Ganje-chay River divided.

¹⁰ Text refers to Shah Solṭān Ḥosein.

Khan of Shamakhi,¹ who, with an army of 15,000 men, reached the borders of the Lezgi domains. They [the Lezgis], however, fell upon them suddenly at dawn and killed a large number of his army. The khan himself was killed,² and the rest fled back home.

Oghurlu Khan of Ganje³ also went against them, but he suffered a defeat near Shamkhor, fled, and took refuge in Ganje. For a while, a certain Kichi Khan, the governor of Sheki, also resisted them, but he was also killed,

After that, the emboldened Lezgi tribes became more daring and raised their weapons on Kakhet'i and the people of Iberia (Georgia). A number of terrible battles ensued and both sides lost a great deal of blood. Imam-qoli Khan⁴ [26] of Kakhet'i fled three times, and his property and household goods were looted.

Thus, year after year, they [the Lezgis] destroyed all his [Imam-qoli's] land and even the royal residences of his father. After that, bypassing the bishop's residence, they climbed into the fortifications of the Tushi Mountains.⁵

There was another reason for their impudence, about which I shall now write.

In the land of Shirvan, in the district of Qabale, in the village of Ghurt'ghashen,⁶ in the area of Ghara-su (Quru-chay), there ruled a family of Muslim lords. Among them was a lord called Malek Maḥmud,⁷ a man gifted and fortunate, but greedier than Judas, and a leech. He received a *mukht'a*⁸ from the khan of Shamakhi for the entire district of Qabale. This district was fertile and heavily populated. It was populated by natives, as well as Armenians who had come there from the land of Karabagh. The said lord [27] ruled over all of them. He had taken much gold and silver from them and had amassed

¹ Text refers to Hasan 'Ali Khan, the nephew of Fath 'Ali Khan Daghestani. He was the governor ca. 1720-1721.

² He was killed in 1721.

³ Text refers to Oghurlu Khan Qajar, who was later killed in a battle against the Jar in 1738.

⁴ Text refers to David II (1703-1722) of Kakhet'i.

⁵ Located in the northeastern part of Georgia.

⁶ Text refers to Kutakashen (Kutkashen).

⁷ He was the lord of Kutakashen and the head of the Iğirmi-dört Qajar tribe in the region.

⁸ From the Arabic *mukhtār* (deed of sale, full power over an estate).

a great treasure. Therefore, the oppressed Armenian population, including the Armenians of Pogher,¹ complained against him. They went to the court of the khan and after that to the Shah. Among them was a certain priest, called Barsegh, originally from Karabagh, from the district of Khach'en and from a family of *meliks*. When the Armenians migrated here, he, together with his family, also accompanied them. They [the Armenian immigrants] established the village of Sokut'lu,² and lived there. There was no better village in the district.

The population chose him (the priest) and sent him to the royal court in Isfahan, so that he, as a member of a house of *meliks*, could be appointed as the *melik* of the Armenians residing there (Sokut'lu). He [the priest] went voluntarily, obtained the royal decree, and returned. But his enemy (Malek Mahmud) was strong and the priest could not oppose him, since he, through bribes, had influenced the governor of Shamakhi. Thus, the entreaties of the priest went unheard.

But, after some time, the notables of Shamakhi, who hated the khan, rose against him, went to the Shah and succeeded in removing him from his post. They also complained against Malek Mahmud, stating that he had amassed a large treasure and was planning to rebel against the Shah. The Shah ordered that all the lord's real and movable property, no matter what it was, be inventoried and taken to the royal treasury; and the lord [28] and his family be jailed. The order was carried out immediately. The royal executioners arrived, made a list and *zaft*,³ recorded the house and the entire property of the lord, and took him and his brother, called Ahmad, in chains to Shamakhi, and kept them for several months in jail. They were later released and restored to their posts.

They say that their property, which was seized by the crown and went into the royal treasury, was worth more than 70,000 *tumans*, not counting various utensils, animals, and *mulks*,⁴ which were countless.

¹ A district in Kutakashen.

² Present-day Buyuk Soghutly village in the Kutakashen region.

³ From the Arabic *zabt* (to take possession, to confiscate).

⁴ From the Arabic *mulk* (immovable property).

They also say that he possessed 500 mills, 500 *dinks*,¹ which thresh rice, more than 500 *kram* and *majinak*,² for unwinding silk, rivers (water rights) and a great number of canals, called *arkh*,³ which brought water to orchards and gardens of the farmers. You can imagine the rest of his wealth!

Several years after the above occurrences, Hōsein, [29] the Khan of Shamakhi,⁴ once again arrested the two brothers, and cut off their heads by the order of the Shah. He then seized his (Malek Maḥmud's) three sons: Pēykar (Paykār),⁵ Ibrahim,⁶ and Kasum (Qāsem), subjected them to terrible tortures and torments and forced them to give up the rest of their property, which, they say, was worth 25,000 *tumans*. After taking the aforementioned property he released them.

After that, Paykār went to the Shah, was named the Malek (of the district), returned, and began to rule in the manner of his father.

Four years later, Hōsein, Khan of Shamakhi, ordered the execution of Paykār in his house, seized all his property and house, and imprisoned his wives and sons, and brought them to Shamakhi. They then searched and uncovered all his property and took it to the royal treasury. They say that it was worth 20,000 *tumans*.

His [Paykār's] brothers, Ibrahim, and Qāsem, fled to the above-mentioned 'Ali Sultan, and from there crossed to the other side of the [Caucasus] mountains to the chiefs of the [Lezgi] tribes. According to the Muslims there are two [Muslim] sects: some are Shi'i, [30] which include the Persians, that is, the Kizilbash, and others are the Sunnis, which include the Ottomans, the aforementioned mountain tribes, the Afghan tribes of Qandahar, the Uzbeks, the Bukharans, and the Arabs, as well as the majority of the people who belong to this faith.

Therefore, they [Paykār's brothers] went to the Lezgis, to their co-religionists. They say that upon their arrival they appeared at their threshold barefoot with bared heads, as a sign that the Shi'is had offended them, for such is their custom. The appearance of the brothers in such a state awakened hatred among the Lezgis toward the Shi'i,

¹ From the Persian *ding* (a wooden apparatus used to separate rice or other grains from the chaff).

² Text refers to machines for unwinding silk.

³ From the Persian *arkh* (water conduit).

⁴ He was the governor of Shamakhi ca. 1715-1721.

⁵ Peykār Khan İğirmi-dört Qajar.

⁶ Ibrahim Khan İğirmi-dört Qajar.

and they became angrier than a savage beast. They considered such a state of affairs a great disgrace. They began to summon and unite all their tribes. Tens of thousands came together with great excitement and thus thousands gathered. Since the news of the Lezgi raids and depopulations of the above-mentioned districts had spread all over, the newly united Lezgi groups decided to join them.

A certain leader among them, called Surkhai,¹ reached the land of the Georgians, went through the southern part of Kakhet'i and Tiflis, and depopulated the provinces called Somkhet'i² and Dumnakh.³

But now, on August 10, 1171 (1722),⁴ [31] all these Lezgi tribes, together with their chiefs, the aforementioned Surkhai, Shamkhal,⁵ Ismi (Usmi),⁶ Hajji Davud,⁷ and 'Ali Sultan,⁸ all, with their powerful armies, went to Shamakhi, bitterly besieged it for eight days but could not take it. News reached them that some of their fellow tribesmen who had remained behind had started trouble in their homeland. Therefore, one night they suddenly retreated and returned to their own land. After that, the inhabitants of Shamakhi began to fortify the city. They surrounded it with a deep moat and wall, and erected new walls and fortifications. Meanwhile, they hurriedly gathered an army from various places (Ganje, Karabagh, and Mughan) and, by the order of the Shah, a new khan, Hōsein,⁹ came from Agulis.¹⁰ They held the city until the start of the same month of the next year.

For the second time the aforementioned mountaineers arrived with even a greater army than the first time. They besieged the city for [32] twelve days. Then in August, during the week following the fast of

¹ Text refers to Surkhai Khan (also known as Cholak Surkhai) of the Kazi-Kumuk (Ghazi Qomuq), who was later (1728) named the governor of Shirvan by the Ottomans.

² It refers to a southern region in Georgia.

³ Text refers to the city of Dmanisi in Georgia.

⁴ There must be an error, for below the city was taken in 1721; the date therefore must be 1170.

⁵ Text refers to the Shamkhal of Tarku, 'Adil Geray Khan (1719-1725).

⁶ Text refers to the Qeytaq Khan, Usmi Ahmad (1708-1748).

⁷ Text refers to Hajji Davud Moskuri or Qobbe'i.

⁸ Text refers to 'Ali Soltan of Tsakhur (Zakhur).

⁹ He was the same Khan of Shamakhi cited above. It seems that Esayi has erroneously identified him as two separate persons.

¹⁰ A small town in the Ordubad region of Nakhichevan.

Assumption of the Holy Virgin,¹ on a Wednesday in the Armenian year 1170 (1721), Shamakhi was taken.²

The taking of the city occurred in this manner: As we have already noted, the Muslims are divided into two groups: Shi'i and Sunni. The [Muslim] inhabitants of the city were divided into two groups, but the Sunnis formed a majority. That is why the inhabitants of the quarter called Saru-t'opragh opened their side of the wall at night and let some of the enemy into the city. At dawn they joined them [the Lezgis] and handed over the city to them. Once inside, the Lezgis let loose their swords upon the Muslim Kizilbash [Shi'i and Persians].

How can I describe the calamity and the shed blood, which flowed through the bazaars like a river? Eight hundred men from among the leaders and notables of the city, who had hidden in their *mam*,³ which was located in the center of the town, were slaughtered like beasts. They [the Lezgis] completely ended and destroyed every voice of sorrow.⁴ Many of the Persian troops, as well as their commanders, fled wherever they could. Houses and properties were looted; families [33] and children were taken captive. Hosein Khan was seized, kept for several days, and handed over to Ibrahim Agha, the brother of Malek Paykār, who killed him in revenge for his father and brother.

The Christian Armenian population, both in the city and the villages, with the exception of several incidents, did not suffer much from the massacre, for they were spared through the grace of Christ. Their belongings, however, were for the most part looted, but their sons and children were not taken prisoner.

It is important to note the wealth of the city of Shamakhi, for, from the time of Shah 'Abbās the Great, who took it from the Ottomans in the year 1055 (1606) until the year 1170 (1721), not even a piece of straw had been taken from it. Since the city was a *bandar*⁵ of the Caspian Sea and a stopover for merchants from all over, as well as a place of trade and income for Indian [merchants], Romans (Europe-

¹ The Armenian Church holds a fast a week prior to the Feast of the assumption.

² The city was taken by Hajji Davud and his allies in August of 1721.

³ Text refers to the Imam Mosque, the main mosque of Shamakhi.

⁴ The text implies that there was no one to cry since all the inhabitants had perished.

⁵ From the Persian *bandar* (port); in this case entrepôt.

ans), Julfans,¹ and Russians, it was filled with every possible property and wealth.

That is why the greedy and avaricious people [Lezgis], especially those of asinine character, [34] looted and emptied it [Shamakhi], as a man who had fallen into the hands of Godless bandits. Seizing various goods, gold, and silver, they took it all outside the city, broke them into pieces and divided them among themselves, and thus loaded, returned to their land.

These filthy men were so ignorant that they paid one gold piece for a loaf of bread or a melon. This is how the rich capital city of Shamakhi was taken.

After the fall of the city, the governors of Ganje and Erevan informed the Shah. They protested [his inaction] and themselves came with their armies to the city of Partaw in Aghuank', on the bank of the Kur River. The Khan of Erevan, with the commanders of his districts, and the Khan of Ganje, with all his notables, gathered there with an army of 30,000 men.

However, no army arrived from the Shah and no help came, for he was very worried and occupied with the war in the region of Qandahar. All he did was to verbally and through letters order them to do everything they could.

The skilled villains with terrible faces, these man-eating beasts, [35] at the sound of whose name everyone trembled, those who were in the vicinity at the time, like expert hunters, gathered quietly and without any sound on the other side of the great river [Kur] and, one night, silently crossed to the other side.

The cowardly and woman-like Persian people, who as usual had spent the entire night drinking and celebrating, had fallen into a deep sleep at dawn and got up to prepare for battle only when the sun came up.

While they [the Persians] slowly prepared, they [the Lezgis] attacked them, crushed them, fell upon them, and drove them to the foothills of the Artsakh Mountains, up to the Trdu River² and the slopes of the Khach'en ravine.³

In this manner the Persians were disgraced and disappointed in their expectations, while the Khazars [Lezgis], after taking their

¹ Text refers to the merchants of New Julfa.

² Text refers to the T'art'ar River in Karabagh.

³ Text refers to the ravine of the Khach'en River.

booty, returned home happily. This occurred in the fall of the year 1170 (1721).

When the terrible winter frost which seemed very heavy to us [that year] was over, the rivers thawed, and the pleasant spring air [36] was near, in March, prior to the great Easter of our Lord, they [the Lezgis] once again armed themselves with their evil plans, gathered twice as many men and divided them into detachments, and like locusts, thousands and tens of thousands of them passed through the Iron Gates [Darband] and reached Shamakhi.

From there they moved on and arrived with their army to the fertile plain of Mughan, at the place where the Kur and Arax rivers join together (see map). One of the Persian commanders, called Chardakhji, had camped with a large army near Bargushat,¹ on the banks of the same Arax River.

The moment he heard of their [the Lezgi] presence, that Godless man fled and disappeared from his camp. The militant and bloodthirsty Huns [Lezgis] went along the banks of the river to the boundary of Bargushat and entered the land of Dizak,² occupying its mountains and plains. According to their custom they, as practiced reapers, began to advance upon the inhabitants. There were many Christians and Muslims in this land, and thus on the day of the Great Saturday,³ they [the Lezgis] fell on them and in a three-day massacre, taking the population prisoner, [37] they turned this heavily populated province, which had been abundant with animal herds, into a desert.

From here [Dizak] they went into the district of Varanda (see map).⁴ They started to do same thing here. But the local Melik Baghir⁵ hurriedly sent some of his men to greet them with gifts and managed to free some of the prisoners and save his district.

¹ Text refers to the area in southern Siwnik' (Baghk'), in the present-day Ghap'an region, bordering the Fizuli region of Karabagh.

² Text refers to the Dizak district, one of the Armenian *melikdoms* in Karabagh; the present-day district of Hadrut'.

³ This occurred on April 4, 1722.

⁴ Text refers to the Varanda district, one of the Armenian *melikdoms* in Karabagh. It is the present-day Martuni and Askeran districts, including part of Shushi.

⁵ Text refers to Melik Bagher Shahnazarean. According to Raffi, he was the first Shahnazarean *melik* who came from Tsar-Geghark'unik' region to Varanda. See Raffi, *Erkeri zhoghovatsu*, V (Erevan, 1982), 428.

From there [Varanda] they, boldly and without fear, entered the district of Khach'en,¹ for no one came to meet them in friendship or with a force of arms. They all turned their backs to them. Therefore they [the Lezgis] could not enter this region so easily. However, they did whatever they wished, things that I cannot describe. In a period of one day, starting from the Karkar River² to the Drduvakan River³ and Chraberd (Jraberd) River,⁴ in the plains and mountains, they [Lezgis] created a total emptiness. First, they burned the wooden houses and huts of the villagers; then, they fell upon the inhabitants, bringing them down from the mountains, dragging them out of caves, from thickets and bushes, and took them prisoner. [38] They also took household goods and drove them together with their herds, sheep, and other four-legged animals down to the Khach'en River.

The mixed throng of prisoners and animals moved quickly, like a swift mountain stream, its procession resembling a huge army. We saw this with our own eyes, for we, saved by flight, climbed to the top of the mountain, which was above the Holy See of Gandzasar, and their [Lezgi] feet could not reach us. From there we saw everything that went on.⁵ This occurred on April 20, in the year 1171 (1722), on the second Sunday after Easter Sunday.⁶

One had to see the calamity in their wake, the screams of those being killed, the cries of the prisoners, the wails of the mothers, the ruin of the children taken prisoner, the looting of property, the sound of sobbing and the terrible view of men cut in half. Even the mountains and cliffs shed tears for them.

¹ Text refers to the Khach'en district, one of the Armenian *melikdoms* in Karabagh. It belonged to the Hasan Jalaleants' family.

² Text refers to the Karkar River in western Karabagh near Shushi.

³ Text refers to the T'art'ar River in Karabagh.

⁴ Text refers to the Jraberd River in Karabagh, an offshoot of the T'art'ar that flows in the Jraberd district, one of the Armenian-populated districts in Karabagh.

⁵ Gandzasar was the center of the Khach'en principality. Starting in the 10th century, religious and lay leaders would gather there. As noted, in 1216-1238 the Hasan Jalaleants' family built the new monastery there, which later became the seat of the Aghuank Kat'oghikosate.

⁶ Known as Green Sunday in the Armenian Church calendar.

The enemy army took their booty and prisoners, combined them with their camp and went from Akanakert¹ and camped by the bridge called Gari-kopri,² on the banks of the Drdu River, which is now called [39] T'art'ar in Persian. They stopped there for a short time and could not do any major harm to the districts of Chraberd (Jraberd) and Partaw, for their inhabitants had been warned and fortified themselves in impregnable mountain places, while their young men defended their positions and killed many enemy troops. Therefore, they [Lezgis] hurriedly moved the booty and the prisoners across the great Kur River to their own land and meanwhile prepared to attack the city of Ganje.

The ruler of Jraberd and Ghaynagh (Qaynaq), the great Paron, Kalb 'Ali Beg,³ the grandson of Dargāh-qoli Solṭān, who had lost his senses and, frightened of the impending violence, had fled to the Tsar⁴ district, now appeared before them [the Lezgis].

After several days, he [Kalb 'Ali] gave his son as a hostage and secretly returned home. They [the Lezgis] besieged the city of Ganje for some twelve days, but without success. The citizens demonstrated resistance, especially since prior to [40] the Lezgi arrival, the wealthy and the notables had sought refuge in the city of Tiflis with King Wakhtang⁵ and had asked him to come to their aid. He promised to do so.

When the envoys from Ganje began to arrive one after the other to his court, he [Wakhtang] indeed moved against the Lezgis with a 40,000-man army. The moment he approached the Shamkhor district, they began to retreat across the Kur River, and within three days disappeared completely into their own domain. The Georgian king Wakhtang, with his large army, more than 40,000 men, came and camped on the southern part of the city of Ganje *with the divine assistance of Lord Christ. Eternal glory to Him! Amen.*⁶

¹ A fortress in upper Khach'en by the T'art'ar River.

² Text refers to the Karı Köprü (Bridge of the Old Woman) over the T'art'ar River.

³ He may have been a member of the Israyēlean clan.

⁴ Text refers to Armenian-populated district of Tsar-Geghark'unik', southeast of Lake Sevan. Shah 'Abbās had placed it in the hands of the Shahnazarean family, who later relocated to Varanda.

⁵ Text refers to Wakhtang VI, King of K'art'li (1711-1714, 1719-1723).

⁶ The words in italics are missing from Bunyatov's edition.

Chapter 6

On the Second Arrival of the Georgian King Wakhtang to Ganje

As stated, the first arrival of Wakhtang to help the city of Ganje was during the [41] invasion of the Lezgi tribes. He put them to flight without battle and, after that, he spent a month camped outside the city.

The citizens came to him to negotiate, during which they stated, "The Lezgis would not have come to our land if they did not have confederates in our neighboring districts, among people around us. They came because of their instigation, as their confederates, as Sunnis. If you are a friend of the great Shah, who loves you and are our friend, you have to punish them—rob and empty their villages and take them prisoner."

There was another reason behind these words: Wakhtang was promised a huge sum of money by the people of Ganje. Since they did not pay him the promised sum, they sent him against their neighbors. Since it was already spring, May of the year 1171 (1722), those nomads who lived in tents, called *t'arakama*,¹ that is herders, as was their custom, had already gone up the mountains to their *yeylaqs*² to the rich grasslands. They had hidden up there from fear of the Lezgis. Now, at the instigation of the citizens of Ganje and their governor, called Javad Khan,³ [42] Wakhtang ordered his army to move on those, about whom he was told, and to rob them.

The Georgian tribes of Milekan,⁴ more pitiless than the Caucasians, moved in detachments and immediately poured into the mountains and valleys, through the lowlands of Zakam, Shamkhor, Ganjepasan, Voskanapat, Kirochkai (Kurak-chay), Partaw, up to the village of Gulstan⁵ and the Drdu (T'art'ar) River.

Although they almost did not kill anyone or took any prisoners, they looted whatever they saw: cattle, even hens, cats and dogs; as to

¹ Text refers to the Turkmen.

² Text refers to the summer pastures (from the Turkish *yailāq*) of nomads.

³ Javād Khan Qajar was the governor of Ganje.

⁴ Esayi may refer to the Mingrelians.

⁵ Text refers to the district and fortress of Giwlistan (Golestan) on the left bank of the T'art'ar River. The district was held by the Melik Beglareans.

inanimate objects, there is no need to talk about that, they took everything—wooden articles, straw mats, and clay pots. If this is so, what can I write about the expensive property and essential items, about the various gold and silver decorations and household utensils?

They said that because of the large size of the booty, that is copper, iron items, and clothes, there were not enough beasts of burden and they [the Georgians] dragged them into their camp on carts, which they possessed. Their camp was located near the mountains of Ganje, in a place called Cholak.¹ They behaved like this not only in Muslim quarters, [43] but did the same to all the Armenian quarters in that land, where they looted all the movable and immovable property.

It so happened that when some Georgian detachment would near a [Armenian] settlement, the inhabitants would come out to greet them with priests dressed in garments, with crosses, candles, and bells, according to the Christian custom. The Georgians would fall on them, plunder the priest's garments, loot the churches, books, and church utensils. They robbed men and women, and looted the entire belongings of the village until they were naked. Emptying everything, they would then leave.

They behaved in such a manner in every district. They emptied everything and cleaned out all the churches in the districts of Ganje; they took everything there was and filled their camp.

Who can list the number of stolen flocks, herds, and cattle? As is their custom, they gave one-tenth of their booty to their commander. They say that Wakhtang's share was 25,000 sheep and 9,000 large cattle. You can imagine the total of the booty yourself. His arrival resulted in the fact, that whatever was left from the invasion of the impudent Lezgi tribes, these last items were now taken by the greedy, foul, and harsh Georgian people.

However, King Wakhtang [44] himself was a good man, pious, not rancorous. He loved the Christians, and constantly ordered his troops not to kill or imprison Christians, but they, because of their rudeness and stubbornness, a characteristic of the Georgians, did not pay heed or obey the order of their commander.

Accomplishing everything noted above, they returned home. Our land remained neglected, without a leader, and people began to act as they pleased.

¹ A suburb of Ganje.

Thus, convinced that the situation had no end and the pacification of the land was impossible, I, who was at the camp of Wakhtang, also went with him to the land of the Georgians. We moved from Ganje on May 28 of the year 1171 (1722) and went to Tiflis, where we spent four months.

With the arrival of fall, in September, Wakhtang decided to go to Ganje for a second time, for the following reason.

With the final weakening of the Persian Kingdom and the overthrow of its king,¹ about which I shall write in detail later, his enemies [45] rose, in particular the great Russian emperor and autocrat, I speak of the Tsar of Moscow, Petros,² and the king of the Romans³ (Ottomans), the ruler of Constantinople,⁴ the Ishmaelite. They began, each from his side, to send troops into Persia. The Russian wanted to help the Persian king, while the ruler of Rum wanted to take everything for himself, saying, "Others wish to conquer the regions. The land of Azarbaijan has historically belonged to us, that is why I have to take it."

Because of this, both sides began to send envoys to the Georgian king Wakhtang. One said, "Be my ally, obey me;" the other said, "You are my coreligionist, you have to obey me and come to me." For Tsar Peter promised Wakhtang to personally come to Shamakhi that autumn and stipulated that he be present there in full readiness. The king of Persia, who was near to being removed from the throne, hurriedly sent the following order to Wakhtang:

"I have transferred the rule of all [46] the districts of Ganje and Azarbaijan to you and am appointing you the commander-in-chief of all the armies and the ruler over the governors of those places. Therefore, immediately gather your forces and go to Ganje, guard those regions, and be vigilant against our enemies."

Receiving this order, Wakhtang judged thusly in the depths of his heart, "Both rulers are forcing me, I have to obey the order of one of them. The people of Rum are not our coreligionists and are alien to us. They want to take over our land by force. Second, our original ruler is the Persian king. But he [Peter] is our coreligionist and a Christian emperor; he is strong and mighty. I shall follow their order;

¹ Text refers to Shah Soltān Hosein.

² Tsar Peter I.

³ Text refers to Rum, that is, the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ Text refers to Sultan Ahmad III (1703-1730).

whoever manages to accomplish their plan, I shall do the same." He immediately ordered the preparation of the army.

He [Wakhtang] gathered the Georgian and Armenian army and did not leave anyone whom he could recruit. He also took me with him, for from the time of our arrival to his camp and until our return he received us lovingly and ordered to give us provisions from his own pocket. With a huge army, the number of which we could not ascertain, [47] we left Tiflis and reached the broken bridge, called Sinikhkopri,¹ on the day of the Feast of Exaltation of the Cross.²

On that same day, he [Wakhtang] summoned me and ordered me to go before him, to the land of Karabagh, in order to bring to him the Armenian army, which had gathered there under the command of the *meliks* and four young officers or *yuzbashis*,³ Avan, Shrvan, Shahni, and Sarukhan. Following the first march of Wakhtang and the weakening of the Persian rule, they, together with *meliks* of Karabagh, gathered around them all the brave and manly young men of the Aghuank' region, organized a large army of more than 12,000 men and fortified themselves in impregnable places in Artsakh. They accomplished many brave acts in our land and you shall hear about them often below.⁴

Learning of them, he [Wakhtang] sent us inconspicuously to them with the message to bring the [Armenian] army [48] to him in full readiness. By his order we went to them, organized them according to military manners, for they were not trained in military ways, gathered 10,000 choice armed men, together with an assembly of priests and our servants, and with great pomp and festivities to restore the Armenian Kingdom,⁵ we moved. After three days, we halted near the city of Ganje, in the place called Cholak, since King Wakhtang was also

¹ Text refers to Sınık Köprü (Broken Bridge), a bridge over the Kur River, near Borchalu.

² September 22.

³ From the Turkish *yuzbaşı*, commander of a unit of 100 men.

⁴ The resistance movement is known as the Sêghnakh Wars. The term is derived from the Turkish *sığınak* (stronghold). The Armenians built hundreds of such fortifications in the highlands of Karabagh and resisted the Ottomans and Muslims tribesmen. Kat'oghikos Esayi and the *meliks* wrote several letters to Peter the Great about their struggle against the Muslims. See *Armenians and Russia*, docs. 109, 121, 124, 134, and 139.

⁵ Bunyatov's version reads "Albanian State."

camped in that place, on the bank of a stream called the Koshkar and Kara-arkh River.¹

After three days he ordered that we go to him. We moved towards his camp. He then ordered his army to move up as a sign of salutation and greet us.

Thus the two armies met in celebratory conditions; they faced each other on the field and enacted a make-believe and exemplary battle. Our young men whirled around and flew on their jaunty fast horses on the field of battle. [49] The thunderous sound of gunfire shook the surrounding places. The dust mixed with the smoke of the gunpowder and resembled thunderous clouds. The sunlight was dimmed so much that we could barely see one another. Thus in merriment we reached and halted near Wakhtang's camp. Wakhtang's spirit and body, witnessing such a success of our troops, was lifted in happiness, and he immediately invited me, the officers, as well as the *meliks*, to his presence. He demonstrated his approval with words of comfort, assured us and instilled us with faith, saying, "Take heart and support as the sons of the Almighty! Do not fear anyone from any place, for the time of the rescue of the Christians has arrived!" He then turned to us, thanked us a great deal, and on the following day he gave all the commanders robes of honor.² We thus stayed with him for twenty-five days.

The reason for such a friendship toward us was, first of all, because he loved our people and did not totally trust his own people, the Georgians, who are always [50] insidious and cunning. Therefore, he wanted to draw our army and especially the Armenian people as residents to Tiflis. Second, learning the exact time of the arrival of Emperor Peter, he wished to appear before him with great pomp, accompanied by Armenian and Georgian troops.

But after a long wait for news of him [Peter], our sins took the upper hand, for, upon arrival at the Iron Gates,³ where the inhabitants had voluntarily surrendered their fortress to him, some incident occurred. Some said that because of sickness and other calamities his army suffered great losses. Many horses that were not used to the

¹ Refers to rivers near Ganje. Russian primary sources estimate Wakhtang's army to have numbered 30,000; see P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza s 1722 po 1803 god'*, I (St. Petersburg, 1869), 30.

² Text refers to the traditional Persian gift known as *khal'at*.

³ Peter entered Darband in August of 1722.

climate of our land died. Also, because of shipwrecks, a great deal of the heavy arms, that is *jabakhana*,¹ as well as provisions for the army, was lost.²

Others gave other reasons. Whatever the reason, he left a large army there, returned to his country, and promised to return the next year.³

Hearing this, Wakhtang also decided [51] to return to his land, for news arrived from the Persian court that the city of Isfahan, where the Persian Shah [Solṭān Ḥosein] was besieged with all his army, was about to fall. Furthermore, a speedy courier arrived with the news, "Some of your enemies are planning to attack your capital and you have to immediately come back." For this reason he hurriedly moved back and destroyed the Kazakh province, with which he had previously been at odds, on his way. He went to the city of Tiflis. Each of us also, deceived in our hopes, returned to our places and fortified ourselves in the difficult to reach mountains.

Regarding Wakhtang we would like to say something more.

Even prior to his return, while we were still in our places, the governors of Ganje, Kakhet'i, Erevan, Borchalu and Kazakh, who were his enemies, united against him, including one of the grandsons of T'amraz,⁴ the apostate Moḥammad-qoli Khan of Kakhet'i, who was previously called Constant,⁵ as well as Oghurlu, [52] Khan of Ganje, whose family was an enemy of Wakhtang's family for a long time. Preparing their march, they wrote to the new king, Shah Ṭahmāsp,⁶ for they saved one of the sons of Shah Solṭān Ḥosein, called Ṭahmāsp, and took him from Isfahan and named him Shah in Qazvin.

¹ Text refers to the Arabo-Persian term for arsenal or military equipment.

² For details, see page 8.

³ Esayi does not mention the Russo-Ottoman agreement of 1724, which left Wakhtang and the Armenians of Karabagh-Ganje at the mercy of the Turks and Lezgis. The Georgians and the Armenians were convinced that Peter would return soon. After Peter's death (1725), Esayi and the Armenians wrote letters to Catherine I (1725-1727) asking her for help which never materialized. See *Armenians and Russia*, docs. 143, 146, 149 and 150.

⁴ Text refers to King T'eimuraz I (1606-1616, 1623-1632) of Kakhet'i.

⁵ Text refers to Constantine II, who took the name of Moḥammad-qoli Khan (1722-1732).

⁶ Text refers to Shah Ṭahmāsp II (1722-1732), Safavid ruler of parts of Persia.

They wrote to him, "Wakhtang is planning to rebel against you. He has united the Armenian and Georgian peoples and has sent envoys to the Russian king, so that he would come and conquer your land. Order us to do whatever you deem right." The latter, newly fledged and irrational, wrote a decree stating, "The land of Kakhet'i and K'art'li, that is Tiflis, with all their *tūmāns* of Georgia, I give to Moḥammad-qoli Khan. I also give him all the commanders and troops of Ganje, Erevan, and other regions, and demand that you bring me Wakhtang alive, or his head."

After that, troops moved against him [Wakhtang] from all directions. Moḥammad-qoli Khan entered the fortress [53] at night secretly from Wakhtang, and in the morning fired a cannon¹ at Wakhtang's residence. He sent people to tell him, "It is the order of the Shah. Get up and leave here."

Wakhtang had just recently rid himself of the Persians, who had invited him to come [to Persia], had given him solemn assurances and oaths, and had then kept him for three years in southern Persia in exile. After that they once again gave him the command of the Persian army. He served in that post for two years, and only then did they allow him to return and take over his paternal throne. Wakhtang returned, and although he gave the appearance of obedience, everyone knew of his internal thoughts. He hated the Persians with all his heart, and for their part, the Persians were his enemies.

Now, when war preparations began against him, he also gathered his army, especially from among the city folk, brave Armenian fighters, who would voluntarily sacrifice their lives, sons, and belongings for him.

The war began on December 1 and continued until the Easter holiday. Wakhtang fought with the help of the Georgian and Armenian troops, and Moḥammad-qoli with the [help of the] Persians.

What can I write about the destruction, [54] captivity and murder in that land! Initially this affair ended with the defeat of the Persian army. It was crushed, destroyed, and took flight. Moḥammad-qoli was separated from his army and was left alone. They pursued him and just as they had almost overtaken him, he directed his horse to the southern part of the city of Tiflis, to the Kur River. The horse jumped

¹ Text reads *r'ob*, from the Turkish *top* (cannon).

in the water, swam across, and in this manner Moḥammad-qoli Khan went to his land, to Kakhet'i.

However, he did not stop there, but continued to do evil. Burning from envy, this second Judas became the embodiment of his father, Satan. Having lost his faith in the Persians, he went to the Lezgis and other Caucasian mountaineers, concluded an agreement with them, and promised, "If you assist me and help me take the city of Tiflis, I shall give you everything that is in it: gold, silver, silken cloth, linen, woolen cloth, copper, iron, tin, and all the prisoners which will be taken there. In addition to all that, I shall give [55] each one of your men three *tumans* from my own pocket, so that I can take my revenge for Wakhtang's great insult."

Those evil people, who were experienced in destroying the land, that wild legion of the demon (Lezgis), having heard such good news from the lips of their own commander, were overjoyed and promised to fulfill his wish. A large number of ferocious men, barbarian mountaineers, immediately gathered together with their chieftains: 'Ali Sultan (of Zakhur), Usmi, and others.¹ They cast lots, separated into three groups, and attacked the very rich city of Tiflis, something for which they had wished for a long time. They appeared suddenly and besieged the city.

Wakhtang's army was sent to their homes and he himself spent a tranquil time. He, nevertheless, organized a defense, but after a few days he realized that no help was coming from anywhere, while some of the Georgian commanders, such as Ersitav,² Georgi,³ Garaghalkhan,⁴ and Ghaplan⁵ and other clans, as well as some of the citizens, abandoned him. Wakhtang came to the decision that further stubbornness would not benefit him or the city. Therefore he [56] left for the outskirts of the city and ordered the elders of the city to exit with him. He wanted them to meet the Lezgis and voluntarily surrender the city to them in the hope that they would not devastate it and the citizens would not be massacred or taken captive. He [Wakhtang] had a great pity for the city, which was his birthplace. That is why he left

¹ See pages 59-60.

² Text refers to Eristav Ot'ar; see M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, II/1 (St. Petersburg. 1856), 124-125.

³ Text refers to Giorgi of Imeret'i; see *ibid.*, 313.

⁴ Text refers to Lewan and Zurab Abashidze of Karageol; see *ibid.*, 313.

⁵ Text refers to Dmétré Qaplanis-shvili; see *ibid.*, 120.

for the north and fortified himself in the interior of Georgia, from where he frequently sent couriers and envoys to the Russian Tsar, asking him to dispatch an army; but it never came.

Mohammad-qoli and the throng of Lezgis entered the city and immediately began to search the houses, going from house to house, from threshold to threshold, as well as all the churches from upper hiding places [attics] to basements. Since enemies had not touched this city, and it had not suffered war for a long time, it was splendid and magnificent. As was known, the local men were good merchants, their women, girls, and boys were delicate and beautiful to look at. Their politeness gave them a superior attitude. [57] There were many magnificent and beautifully decorated palaces abounding with household utensils and furniture *that had remained from the time of Armenian rule.*¹ As to the [Armenian] households, all their utensils and dishes, for daily, as well as for formal dining use, were made not from copper but from silver or gold. You can visualize, as much as your imagination will permit, the number of formal dresses and robes made of brocades with sparkling expensive gems, sewn with pearls.

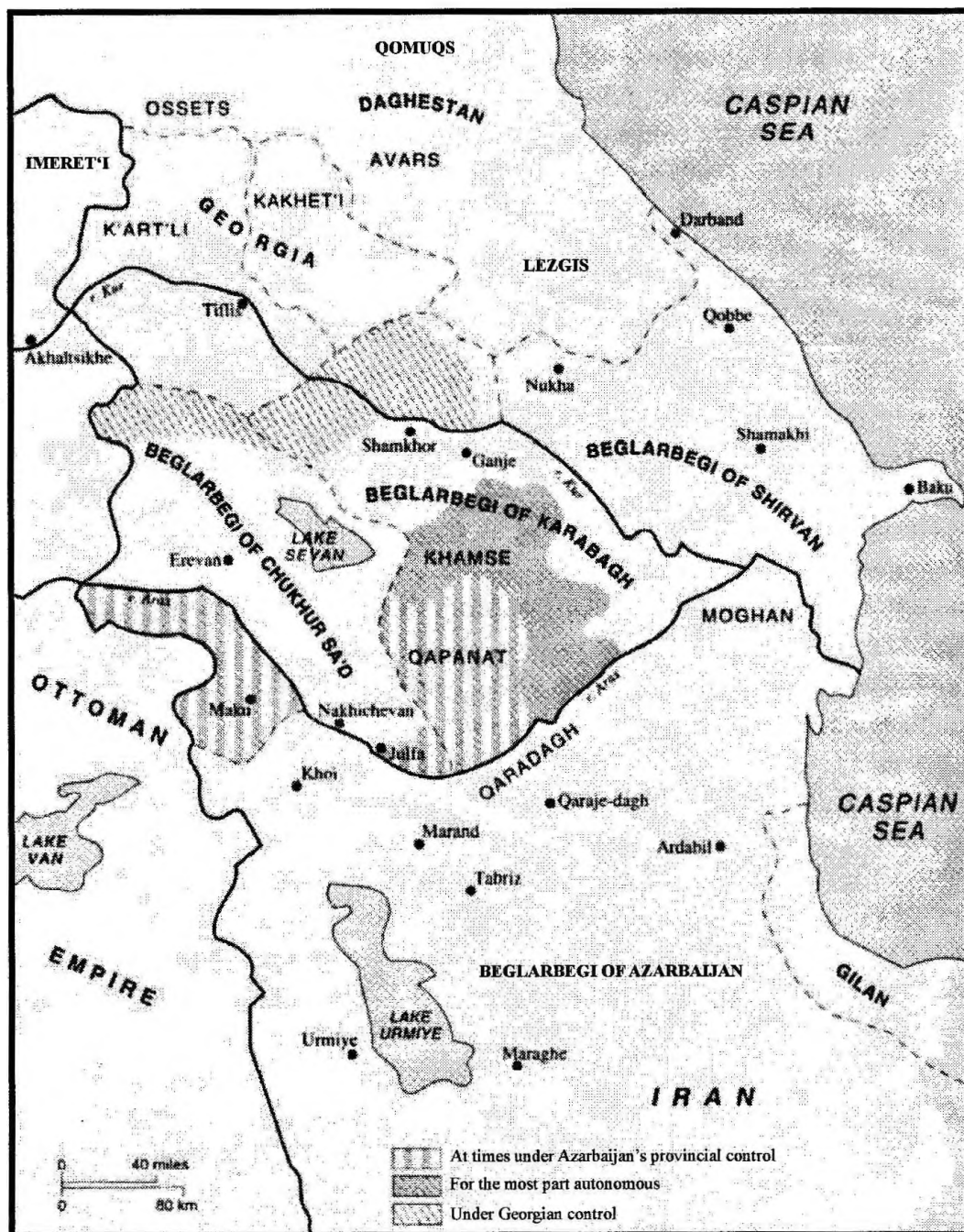
What can I say about the wealth and magnificence of the churches? They shined with decorations abundant with gold, silver, various brocades and all kinds of utensils and bowls.

All of this was taken by that ferocious, wild, greedy, insatiable, beast-like, leech-like people. They looted everything; they took the booty in huge packs; children, boys, girls, and women that they liked they took captive.

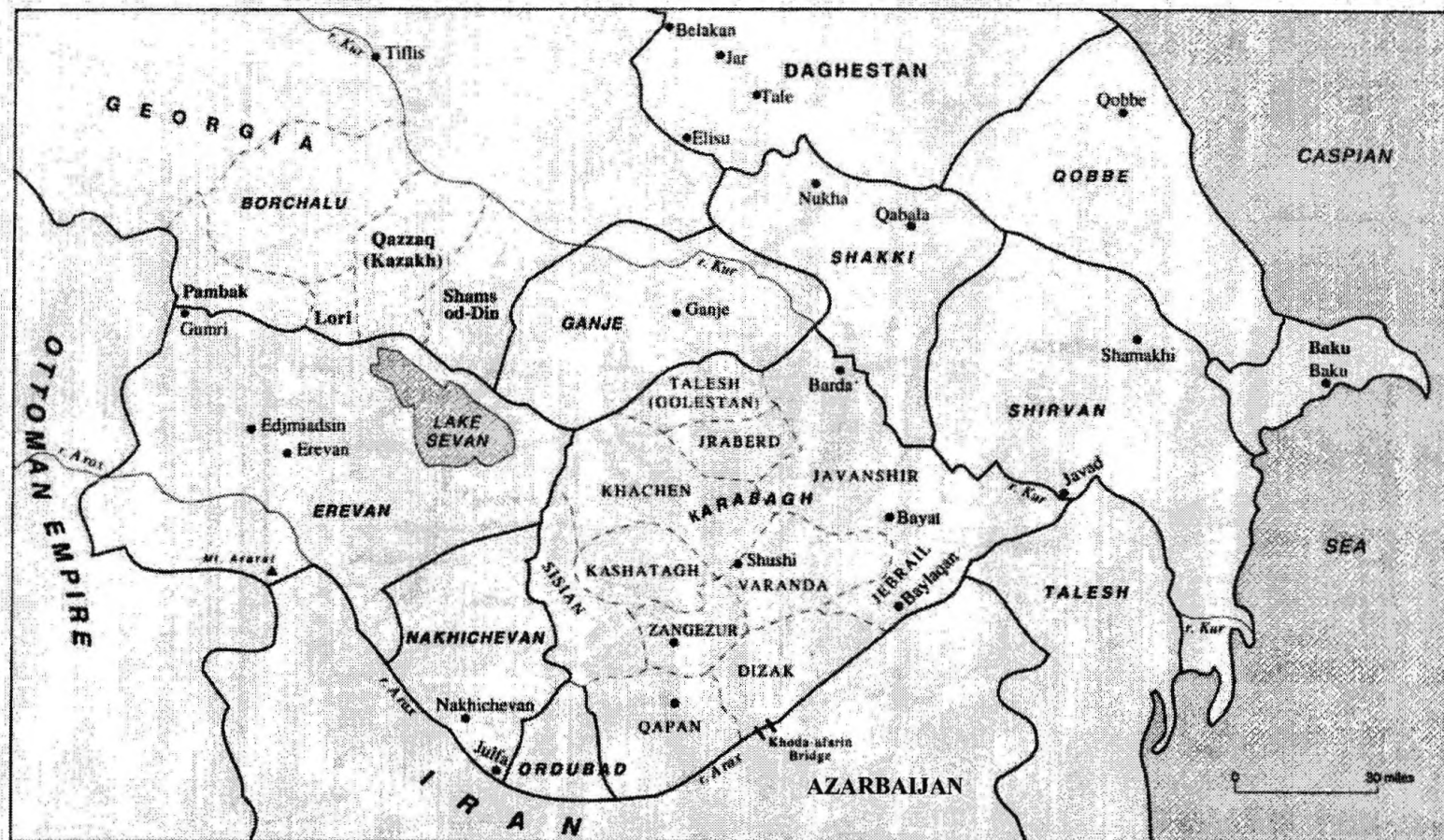
Who can recount the amount that was stolen, who can write all that?

However, they did not commit too many murders and did not take too many captives, for the khan did not permit that. But, they did not obey him [58] for they demanded the promised sum from him. Therefore he placed a heavy tax on the citizens amounting to 40,000 *tumans*. After receiving it, he gave it to them [Lezgis] and let them return to their homes.

¹ Absent from Bunyatov's edition.



Map 1. Transcaucasia in the 18th century



Map 2. Karabagh and Ganje and the neighboring khanates in the 18th century

ՊԱՏՄ ՈՒԹԻՒՆ

ՀԱՄԱՌՕՏ

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ԱՌԱՔԵԼԱԿԱՆ ԱԹՈՌՈՑ Ս. ՅԱԿՈՎԲԵԱՆՑ

ՅԵՐՈՒՍԱՂԷՄ

1868—ՌՅԺԷ

ՅԱՌԱՋԱԲԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ

Սկսեմք յառաջին՝ մանաւանդ թէ յորովք
ի նախկին կորովամիտ իմաստուն և քաջ նա
և ի սուրբ արանց յառաջ բերեալ իւրաքան
չիւր դարուց և ժամանակաց զեղեալ եղ
եալ իրաց սրամուծիւնս հոգեւորաց և
մարմնաւորաց, շարագրեալ թողին ինքեանց
առյուստս եկեղոց ի յիշատակ և ի զգուշու
թիւն: Որոց զանուանս նոցին ոմանց արանց
լուեալ մեր շարագրեցաք աստ տակս պատ
ճառաց երկուց, յիշն՝ զի գիտաւորութիւն
բանիս առ սրամուծիւնս ներկայիս է՝ յա
րում եմքս: որոց նիւթ բանից և շարա
գրութիւն բաւից ի նոցին ուսեալ գորով
դրոց, մի լիցուք ասկերախտ նոցին երախ
տեաց՝ արասրոց թողլով զանուանս արանցն
երախտաւորաց: Եւ երկրորդ՝ ի նոցանէ
թէ պէտս ոմանք ի յազգէ Հրէից էին և ի
հեթանոսաց, և ոմանք յայլազգ բրիտանից
այսինքն Յունաց, Բարբոց և Լատինաց, և
այլք ի մերս Հայոց ազգէ, տակայն բանք և
վնասանութիւնք նոցա ոչ է թարց շնոր
հաց ամենազօր Հոգւոյն սրբոց Եւտուծոց,
որոց այսօր տօնախմբութիւնս է ի գլուխ
յոբելեանի պենտեկոստէիս: Տե՛ղ որոց և

ևս յառա՛մ ընդունել կա՛միլ մի յառա՛մ
պարգեւաց ա՛յնմ պարգեւաւու՛ն որ ոչ
զՀրեայս և զՏե՛մանոս խորէ, և ոչ զՔե-
թախացիս որո՛ւն, և ոչ ի դաւանողաց իւ-
րոց արժանաւորաց և յանարժանից խորէ-
որպէս զի շնորհիւ նորին յաւարտ հասից արե-
կաք մնաք սկսելոյ արակիս:

Երգ՝ որպէս վերադարձեց խոտաացաց զու-
նուանս առաջնոցն, ևն պարսիկ: Կախ՝ Եփ-
րիմանս, Յեսոյ, Հեքեթայոս, և Յովսեփոս
հրեայք, և Կաննոս կրօնաւոր, Էւսեքիոս, և
Օսիսիմոս, Փատաոս Տիգրանդ, և Օհորե
յաւնաց, Սոկրատ, և Թեոգորիաոս, Յով-
հաննէս՝ Նեպեղու, և Թեոգորոս, Յովհան-
նէս Եփացի, և Արքայ խնամաւոր, Յովսիփ
Ռուբհայեցի, Մանեսիոս սարկաւազ, և
Իդնատիոս եպիսկոպոս Ենոփոսոյ, Սիււայ
երեց, և Յովհաննէս ի Մեծոց: Մանեսիոս
Սախալայ որդի, և Սիկայել պատրիարք Ե-
սորայ:

Իսկ ի մեծն և յազգէս Հայոց՝ կորս-
մին Երամանդեղոս, և այլն Եստուծոյ
Մոսէս խորենացի, Եղիշէ սուրբ վարդա-
պետ, և Ղարս փարպեցի, Թափմա փա-
ղապետ Երծրունի, և Էւարուհ Քաղբա-
աւունի, Յովհաննէս կաթողիկոս Հայոց, և

Մոսէս Եղուանից պատմադիր Կաղանկա-
աւացի, Ռեստանէս եպիսկոպոս Ռուհայոս,
Սեւփաննոս վարդապետ Եւաղերի, Եսխաւ-
իւս վարդապետ Կասախիւրոցի, Մատ-
թէոս փանոց երեց Ռուհայու, Սամուէլ
քահանայ կաթմաղիկէին Եւայ, Սանտիան-
փաղապետ Տաւուշոյ, և Սիւրախ վարդա-
պետ և Վարդան նորին աշակերտք: Եստ-
հունի վերջին և հաւաք ի յեւթիքս Եւարիկ
վարդապետ Դաւրիմեցի, որ ունի պատմա-
թիւնս ամաց իրքեւ փաթառն և հնգից,
սկսեալ ի Ռեթմէն մինչեւ ի Ռեթմէն Թիւն
հասեալ դադարէ: Երգ՝ եթէ գտն այլ
ինչ պատմութիւնք ի մեջ մեր և կամ այլ
ազգաց, թաղար դպն ի գիտաւն նային, և
զայս միայն յիշեցար զոր ի գիրս մեր գտար:

Իււարոյ՝ մային աստ յիշեցելոց արանց
սմանք, սիրան որ առաւել հմտադարձն էին,
ի Մակընդէն դարարածս, և ի նախկին մար-
դոյն Եղանոց, և սձով խննւնդանելով ընդ
դորս և ընդ մանանտիս, և աւարտեալ
մինչեւ ի յիշեանց իսկ կեանս: Իսկ սմանք
ի նշանաւոր գարուց և ի քաջադոր թաղա-
ւորաց և ի սքանչելի արանց սկիզբն եղեալ
են դրանս իւրեանց, և այսպէս իրաց ինչ ե-
ղելոց մեծամեծաց և փոքունց, և այլ եւս

Ժ

Ի բռնակալաց արանց և ի գոռոցաց տփու-
ղաց, և ընդ հաւատոյս Քրիստոսի և եկե-
ղեցւոյ նորին միջոցաց, և հերձուածողաց
ամբարշտաց, և նեղութեանց ժամանակաց:
Նսեւ խաղաղարար և բարեպաշտ Թագա-
ւորաց և իշխանաց, աշխարհի շինութեանց
և եկեղեցւոյ բարեկարգութեանց, և Թշնա-
մեաց յաղթութեանց. եւս շարայարեալ
են ընդ պատմութիւնս զանազանս և հիւս-
ցուցանօցս արժանիս լսելեաց, և հասու-
ցեալ են մինչ առ իւրաքանչիւր ժամանակս
առ ի իւրաքանչիւր յոգնութեան և ի գլխաւորութիւն
յետագայիցս: Որպէս զի բարեաց արանց
նախանձաւորքն ընդ բարինս գովեցին, և
չարքն և արհամարհեալքն ընդ նախկին չա-
րեացն արհամարհեալքս արտաբերեցին:

Եւ արդ՝ եղբարք իմ սիրեցեալք ի աւեր-
բանցի նոքա ի ժամանակս աւերութեան քր-
իստոսնէից Թագաւորաց և իշխանաց բա-
րեպաշտից գորով, և կամ Թէ ընդ իշխա-
նութեամբս պաշտօնաց բռնաւորաց ան-
կեալ, որք Թէպէտ Թշնամիք օրինաց են, այլ
կամին շինութիւն և խաղաղութիւն աշխար-
հի և յորովութիւնս ռամկաց փանս օգտի իւ-
րեանց, այնքան աղէտս և կակիժ և տառա-
պանս, և աղաղակ, և ամբաստանութիւնս

ԺԼ

տրանժանօք հանգերձ գրեալ են ի պատմու-
թիւնս իւրեանց, որ և քաջայայտ իսկ է ձե-
րում իմաստութեան: Ապա որչափ և քա-
նիցս և քանիցատիկ պարտիմք մեր սղ-
բալ և հառաչել և աւաղել զոգորմելի կեա-
նոս մեր. և երկոքումք ձեռօք հարկանել
զգլուխս, և վնշ կարգալ զկորստեամբք մե-
րովք, որ ոչ միայն ի Թագաւորաց մերոց և
յիշխանաց զրկեցաք, այլ և յայլազգի գոռո-
ղաց և ի բռնակալաց, որ տկամայ կամօք
հաճեալ և հնազանդեալ էաք ընդ տէրու-
թեամբս նոցին (մեալ) բազում ժամանակս
Որք Թէպէտ հակառակ էին եկեղեցւոյ և օ-
րինաց սրբոց, այլ ոչ խաղառ գիտամարտէին:
Եւ Թէպէտ կեղեքէին, և կոտորուէին բո-
կեանս մեր, այլ ապահով և խաղաղ եւս
պահէին զմեզ յարտորին և յառաջ Թշնա-
մեաց և յաւարաց: Չնոսին եւս երարձ
տէր Նստուած մեր յերեսաց իւրոց և ի
մենք. եթէ փանս անկշռելի և անչափելի և
անհամար մեղաց մերոց էր որում յաւէտ
արժանի եմք՝ զոր կրեմքս, և եթէ յաղազս
չափուոյ իւրեանց լրանն՝ որ անցեալ էին
քան զչափս բնութեանս մարդկան և օրե-
նազրին իւրեանց յափշտակութեամբ, զրկո-
ղութեամբ, կաշառստութեամբ, պղծալ որ-

ԺԲ

ծուծեամբ, և ամենայն իրօք չարեօք, թերեւս արժանն ասորում ի տեղի հասունցան, որ չեղիւց զգործանքն, և զչգցն իրբն զգոց կոչէ, նոն միայնք է գիտելի, և կարող է հասունցանել զհասունցումն նոցա նային:

Մէ դուք նորոք եղանակաւ և կամայ բնարեղէք, բայց ի մեզ է հաւ և կատարել, ցաւ հրամանն Տեառն մերոյ և Վրիշին թէ և տարազեայ է քնքեան, եթէ՞ « Հարկոյ զՆ» միւն և զբուռնայն հասն »: Մ. յայտն եղև և մեզ. « զի յնոսանի հաւատակից հաժաւաց զայ ուրեմն էաք պիկեալք, այժմ՝ յոտարաւ հաւատ և յայրախոն տերանց եւս մեկուսուցաք, և եղաք իրբեւ նաւարեկ որ որ ի մէջ կոհակոյնեայ ոյեաց ծովուն տարաքերի ուսխք և ձեւօք, և ոչ աւսանք լինի վրդկութիւն »: Վանդի և եւս այսպէս գիտեմ թէ ի հեռուն և թէ ի նորումս սուրբ հարքն որքան ողբք և սուգ զոր տապեալ և գրեալ են, զայն նախապիտութեամբ փանայոր ժամանակիս է, և փան մեր՝ և ոչ իւրեանց: Սան որոյ ոչ կարեմ մալ լուծեան, թէպէտ հայիմ և չափեմ զկարողութիւն անձին իմց, և տեսանեմ յոյժ ուրկար և անիմատ և յոռի քան զամենայն

ԺԳ

մանկանս և զորդանունոցս և կեցեցայ, և քան զսուսմանկիցս իմ և բնկերս ըստ ժամանակիս, մանաւանդ թէ մեղօք զառաձեալ և թշուառական կենօք զբաղեալս, տակոյն հայիմ ի բաջան և ի գիտանանքան զիս, զի լուեայ յայտն ամենայն, անխցիմ սունեն, և հարկաներոյ սրտիս ոչ տակայ այսմ անասնելի անկախս, այլ յաւանցեալ յամենազրաջ Տեառն և յառաւածիր պարգեւս Հոգւոյն որ խցի լուէլ մայ, համերոյ խաւել, և արժանաւոր աղօթիւք Տիրուհւոյ Առաքին, և Արարչեալն սրբոյ, և ի լոյս անոյն զմեզ բազմեցախոս հօրն մերոյ մեծին Վրիգուրի, և ամենայն սրբոյ և եղբարոյ սրբանուէրից, արկի զանձն իմ ի հոգս գործոցս ոցաւրիկ մտաւանջի, փառահայեալ ոչ թէ ի կարողութիւն իմ՝ այլ ի սէր սրբաւոր և հեղաբարոյ եղբայրութեան ձեռքս: Սան որոյ հայցեմ և մտեմ խնամահարաբ զիջանել ըստ աշակերտացն Տեառն, մանաւանդ թէ աղօթիւք օգնել, և մի քանահելով և պատեւով զանց առնել, գորով և ձեր կարեկից և բռնութենակից մեզ ըստ բնութեան, զի և ի գիրս աստուածայնիս ի յորով տեղիս մարդասիրութեամբն իւրով իրք նաւատ առաւել յարգի և զօրն քան զոռաւելն և բը-

ԺԻ

մեծամեծս։ Իւ փան խորանին վկայութեան
որստու այժեայս եւս նուիրեցին ընծայա-
բերքն, և Տէրն իսկ գովեաց զուսնայս այր-
ւոյն, և գունակ նմին և ես աղերսեմ ըն-
դունել ձեզ զտրակս զայս իբրեւ զնոյն, որ
իբրեւ ի մէջ գիշերի թանձրամած խաւա-
րեալ վերջացեալ ժամանակիս հազիւ թէ
այսքանս ընձեռել կարացար ապագայից ըն-
թերցաւոր եղբարցդ, ի փառս Հօր և Որ-
դւոյ և սրբոյ Հոգւոյն, և ի յագուտ բա-
ղացդ։

Ն. Օ. Լաւրոյ
Կաթողիկոս Լաւրոյ՝ Տէր Լաւրոյ
Հառն Գալղիանց։



ՀԱՄԱՌՈՑ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻԻՆ

ԱՂՈՒԱՆԻՑ ԵՐԿՐԻ

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ա.

ՐՆԻ ժամանակս թագաւորութեան
ազգին Պարսից՝ որ են կրօնիւք Մահմետա-
կանի, յորում տիրելն բռնակալութեամբ
սկսեալ ի Կաթիսային ընդէ, և ի յեզերաց
Կասպիական ծովուն, (որ երկաթի դուռն
կոչի,) մինչեւ ի Մաղանդարան և Բատարա
սրտ, և անտի սահմանօքն Եզդեկու
հատեալ ի Խորստան, և ի Ղանտահար
բերդ, և անտի ձգեալ յեզր ծովուն Հնդ-
կաց ի Ղանտար քաղաք և այս ի Շիրազ, և
միջոցաւ երկրաւ հատեալ մինչեւ ի Քարե-
լուն (այսինքն Պաղտադ,) անդէն և այսր հա-
տեալ սահմանօք հատեալ մինչեւ ի Համա-
տան և ի ծովն Սինայ, յորմէ և սահմանօքն
Պարսց հատեալ ի Խոյ և ի Սալմառ, և
Կաթիսանաւ հատեալ ի Ալքաթի գետ,

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և անտի Մահմեթի կողմնաւոր և կողմնաւորացի ի գեւոր Միսրիան՝ որ կոչի Միսրիան : Եւ անտի անցեալ Ղարսի անուամբ նահանգի և ի սահմանս Վրացի Տիֆլիս քաղաք և ի կոստանթնուլ քաղաք թեմիս և թեմ մանոր : Եւ ապա հասանի ի լեւոն կոստանթնուլ քաղաքի անուն չունարակերտ (այսինքն՝ Կարսանդ) և ի անդի կայից գեւորացի լեւոնորացի զոր Համիտյն անուանեն, և անուն անգղոյ նորին թարխու կոչեցեալ : Եւ ի յայտ միջոցի ծոցի երկրի արեւելեաց խառն քաղաք և քաղ հիւսիս կողմանս Եւրոպիոյ տիրեալ էին այդն Պարսից որ Վրացացի կոչի, անկող զաթու և զգահ արքայութեան իւրեանց զամենահաւան արքայանիս մայրաքաղաքն Էջ, (այսինքն է՝ Եւրոսան և անդ կալով թագաւորացն տիրեն և իշխեն վիճակեալ իւրոց հնազանդեաց ազգացն ձգեալ յաջ և յահեակ զմեւս իշխանութեան իւրեանց :

Եւ այդ տառմոր տարակոս սիմք սա կըս նախնի ցեղապետութեանց՝ թէ յորմ ազգէ և ծննդոց սերեցան սորա թագաւորացուք, և կամ յորմ հետ յառաջ ցեղաք եղեն : քանզի սրբազան հայրն մեր

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Մովսէս քերթողն հաւատէ մեզ այսպէս, Եթէ Վրացի քաջ պարթեւն վանեալ ըզՄակեդոնացիան զգալեալորդին լղէքան դրի, որ ան վաթաւն և կամ աւելի կալեալ ունէին զթագաւորութեան Պարսից, որ և զեղայրն իւր Վաղարշակ երկրորդ իւր կարգեալ թագաւոր ի Հայաստաքէ : Եւ այսպէս ի միոյ ցեղէ եղեալք երկուց ազգաց Պարսից և Հայոց թագաւոր պարթեւքն՝ մինչեւ ի ժամանակս Մասմուտիսին Երաւորի ազանանկոյ զԵրասան արքայ Երզնկունի : և ինքն կորեալ զթագաւորութիւնն Պարսից, և ազգաց տիրեաց մինչեւ յերեւումն Մահմեթի, որ զկնի երեսուն կամ աւելի և ցոյսաւ ամի տիրելոյն իւրեանց, սորանին զՀայկերաւ արքայ Պարսից, և տիրեցին նոցին իշխանութեան, յորմ տիրապետեալ ոմն Մահմուտ անուն բռնացեալ ի Բահլ, և անտի մինչեւ ի խրատան, և ապա փոխանակելով զմիմեանս յառաջացեալ առին զՀոսէ : Իսկ որդի Մահմուտին Մասիսուտ անուն ի Հոսէ եւ առ զԵրասուր, զԽազուին, զԿապահան, և զամենայն առնն Երազու և զԲրտաստան : (այս ըստ որոց վարդապետին Վարդանայ) : Եւ ապա ասէ զսոցանէ որդի զհայր

փոխանակելով յերկար ժամանակս նստան
ի խաղութն, որոց անուանք են այսոքիկ, Ա-
բու-տի, Տաւութ, Օւղորդէ, Էպու-թա-
լիպ, Տողիկալէի, որ զորացեալ ի խաղիկա-
յէն, և առեալ զհրաման և անուն սուրբա-
նութեան, ընդարձակեաց զսահմանն իւր
սկսեալ ի խորատանայ՝ և զամենայն երկիրն
Պարսկց :

Օրա փոխանորդէ Էրփաստան եղ-
բորդի իւր, և զկնի նորա Սէլիք շահ
կոչեցեալ : և ապա Սահմուտ սուրդան, և
յետ նորա Բաքարուի, և որդի Սահմուտ
սուրդանին Եհար զԲաքարուին, և ինքն
սուրդանացաւ : Իւ զկնի Սահմուտի որդի
նորա, և Սանճար սուրդան ամն օպանանէ
զնա և առնու զիշխանութիւնն, և ապա Տա-
ւութ որդի նորա, և զկնի Տողիկ, և յետ
նորա Սախաւա, և ապա միւս Տողիկ, Ըդ-
կի որդի Էրփաստան, որ էառ զՆի քա-
ղաք մինչեւ ի Սրաց տուն, որ և պատ-
ուեալ ի խաղիկայէն իւրեանց, Իւ այս Էր-
փաստան փոխեաց այլի Տողիկ, և ապա
Շահի արմէն, և զկնի Էլտիուզ, զկնի որդի
Փահլաւան և խղիլաւան որդիք սորա՝ որ ի
միասին տիրեցին աշխարհաց, և այս հասա-
նի մինչեւ ի զիջ թիւս հայոց : Եւ այժմ միջո-

ցի ոչ գտաք զորդեան, բայց այն վարդա-
պետ ասէ, թէ ի ռհի թուին եկն թաթարն,
և ի խորատանու փախոց զրդիս խաբազմ
շահին : Իսկ գալուստ թաթարին և փա-
խուցանել զՍարպուսին սուրդանն ի խո-
րատանոց, և յառաջ խաղաչն առ մեզ, և
յաղթելն և տիրելն ամենայն երկրի, և զի-
ճակելով երանելն և առնուին զտիրեղերս, և
պէս պէս չարութիւնք և դործք նոցին զոր
անցուցին ընդ ամենայն ազգս արեւելից և
արեւմտից, հիւսիսոց և հարաւոց, զայս ամե-
նայն ուսուցանեն մի ըստ միջէ Վանա-
կան, Արաբկա, և այն Վարդան վարդա-
պետք և պատմադիրք, որք և հասուցանեն
մինչեւ ի շէ թիւս զարամութիւն բրա-
նակալութեան սոցա, և զկնի ոչ գտաք
զորքանութիւն ամաց իշխանութեան սոցա,
և կամ թէ որով եղանակաւ բարձան, և ո՞վ
որ էր որ հարածեաց և չբացայց զնստ յաշ-
խարհէս միւրմէ, և կամ նք էին որք տիրեցին
և բռնակալեցան երկրին Պարսկց, մինչեւ
ասի ի նլի թուին գայն թամուրդանկին, որ
և նա գաղանաբար եկեր և մանրեաց, և բզ-
մացորդան առ սուն Եհար ըստ տեղեանն,
և զամենայն տիրեղերս ի հարկի կացոյց,
սկսեալ ի Սիրդանոց մինչեւ ցԱամարիս և

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ճիշդագոյն , ժամանակ և տասն ժաշեցով ի տար զամենայն հասակ , և քաղաքներով զեկեղեցիս տար և հաս գնացք ունիցն : որոց ընհանդամանս չարագործութեանն պատմէ քեզ թմբինս փարդապետ Արծրունի : Այլ ողկնի տորին գող Վարայ Յուսուփ չարին ան ի պծեթութիւն : և կերպականայ չարիք նորին : զկնի որոյ ի տէր թութին Հաճառիս ոմն կրկնաչարապոյն քան զնա երեւեալ , և ասորս թաղամայն : Յետ այսորիկ թահան շահն աղգաւ թութք , որ թագաւորակերպ տիրեալ բարդ երկրին Պարսից ի պծր թութին . և զսա փոխանորդէ Արդուր փառաւորս որդի իւր : ի ընթերցութիւն հայոց :

Այս Արդուր թագաւոր որ նստէր ի Դաւթեմ շահաստանի , փեսայացոյց ինքեան ի քոր իւր զչէի Հայտարն , որ էր որդի Հէրանփաւն որ նստէրն Արտաշէլ քաղաքի : Այս չէիս եղեղց սկիզբն և սողն և որդիսութիւնն ոչ գտար ուրեք թէ ո , կամ յորմէ չեղէ յառաջացեալ բնակեցան աստ : Այս չէիս Հայտարին ծնանի որդի մի զոր անուանեն իսկայել , և փանն ոչ աւնեւոյ զաւակ Արդուր թագաւորին , փանն որոյ չէիսըն և կինն իւր խորհեցան հարիւր բնն ապանանել զԱրդուրն , զի ինքեանց և որդւոյ

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իւրեանց մնացէ ժամանկ թագաւորութեան , որ և արարին իսկ : Քանզի կոչեցին զնա ի պատճառս պատուոյ , և պատրաստեցին նմա կերակուր մահարար , և ի ճաշակելն նորա իսկոյն զգոյց . և ասորս բռնի հրամայեալ աւանդ և ինքեանց . և պարկէս ի միսս մահ մահ մահացան թագաւորն և քոր իւր և չէին , և յովակէլ զօրացն զմահուկն իսկոյն փախուցին ի Աղձամար կողի : Այս բոս Վարդէլ փարդապետի պատրիսկեցոյ փաղաւանութեան : և այսու զկնի զմիսկամայք և ինոյ յառաջացան ի գահ իշխանութեան , որ և Վերուր անունն ոմն բանապաւ և տիրեաց , և հաստատեաց զաթոռ իւր Արդաշան ի չիւր թութին : և յետ նորա Միսնոյն սող ժամանակաւ , որ և անեղցին մինչեւ ի ծնութիւն հայոց : Արդ որպէս ի գլուխ ճաշիս խորշերով խոյս ետու բոս կարդի և բոս աղգաւարտութեան ողջոյն զիսկել և գրել ընկարդ թագաւորութեանն Պարսից , որպէս որդի զհայր փոխանակեալ : Այլ այսքան մայն ի հնազկոյ պատմութեանց հաւորեալ զանուանս երեւելի և նշանաւոր արանց գտողաց և անբարչաւոյ , հառուցար մին չեւցոյս վար ի գրասանս եղբարց մերոյ սիրելեաց , և Քրիստոսի Բառուցոյ մերոյ փառք յաւիտեանս ամեն :

ԳԼՈՒԽ Բ.

Յարգէ՛լ ինչքան խոփաւորութեան Պարսկոյ, և որ
կարգաւորութիւնն է. և խոփաւորութեան ինչքան
նշանն.

Երբ որպէս առաջագոյն գործաւորն իւր
որոք թագաւորին և չէին Հարստարին, և
փոխաւորանին զմանուկն խոնարհել է Ռ.Ա.
Թաւար կողմի, և զինի ամաց ինչ զարգանա-
լոյ տարոյնն աշխուհ շփոթի ոչ առկաւ. թնկի
տանն Պարսկոյ. և ապա միաբանեալ զորա-
գլխաց և զորացն հանեն զԽոնարհելին ի կող-
ման և թագաւորեցուցանեն ի յինքնանց
վերայ ասելով, թէ սա է ժառանգ երկուց
կողմանցն, այսինքն չեմքն, և գորով քվեր որ-
դի իւրաքանչիւր թագաւորին, և ամա անկէ
Թագաւորութիւնն. վասն որոյ հնազան-
դեցան և երկրպագին նմա. Եւ նա ելեալ
ի թմ թուին, նախ հարածէ զբաւառ ա-
ռացեալ զ՝Երվանդն, և յինքն գրաւէ զիշ-
խանութիւնն. և ապա գրաւեալեալ ընդ
յաջ և յահեակ թշնամիան զանաքան և
հինգ, ընդարձակէ զտահման իւր բաւ կա-
րորութեան. և վարեալ զիշխանութիւնն՝ մե-
ռանի ի ընթ թուին, զինի որոյ թագաւորէ

Գ Գ

որդի նորին շահ թաւհմալ ի նոյն ամի, այր քաջ
և արի. Սա յարմ անդիս արար ընդ իւրով
իշխանութեամբ, որպէս զ՝Խորապատահան և
Վ յայց աշխարհն բռնութեամբ հնազանդե-
ցոյց. և ի կողմանա խորասանու նոյնպէս
ընդարձակեաց. նա և բազում կարգս ուղ-
ղեաց իշխանութեան իւրում և թեթեւու-
թեւնա հարկաց, որպէս և ասեն: Եւ սա
փոխանի ի ախ թուականին, և փոխանակ
կացուցանեն զարգին իւր խոնարհել ան-
ուամբ. որոյ կամեցեալ զբռնադրութի-
ւոյն և զանհնազանդ խորամանկան ի զորա-
գլխաց և զորաց իւրոց բառնալ յերեսաց.
Իսկ նոյա ամապարեալ քան զնա ընդ փոյթ
կենագրուեն որպէս ասի հնարիք իմն մա-
հացուցեալ. և զինի տարին բերեն զեղբայր
իւր Խառապանոյ կոչեցեալ ի խորասանոյ,
այր անարի, պակասեալ եւս ի յուսոյ. և սա
եւս զանա ասկաւս զամանութեամբ և
զամանութեամբ վարեալ զիշխանութիւնն՝
մեռանի. և ապա ի ախ թուին որդի տարին
Երաւ կոչեցեալն Սեծ, շահ նաաւուցանեն
ի Սալաւ. որ և ընդ սակաւ ժամանակիս
հնազանդեցոյց զ՝Երվանդ թշնամիան իւր, և
ի բռնէ հառ զորոր երկիր հայրենի իշխա-
նութեան իւրոյ. և ի խորասանոյ մինչեւ

Տէրասի գետ և ջիւղդաւ՝ բաց Ղարաւ-
տականէս :

Ստն զի թագաւորն Կոստանդնուպօստ
խանցէ յոցի, խորխուն սուլդան Սուբան կը
լեցնէ իսնդրար, խոզնդակն և գետ անա-
զի և հան զօր և հրամանն ի վերայ երկրիս
Եօրպատականի՝ զաղ և առնուլ զառ, որ
և եկեալ առին իսկ զյրեւան, զԵրզնա-
ան, զՎաւրթժ, և զԴաննայ, մինչև ի սահ-
մանն Սրաց, զՏփլիս, և զբոլոր տունն
Սրաց, աղ և յոցն կողմ կուր գետոյ զՇա-
քի, զՇրուան, զՇամախի և զՎարդանա-
պօստն քաղաքաց և երկրի տիրէին Օս-
մանցիք : Եւ զկնի աւարտման պատերազ-
մաց յոցն կողմանցն թագաւորն Շահարաւ
և խաղաղութեամբ նստեալն Ղարահան
մայրաքաղաքի, զկնի սակաւ անաց տալս
դարձուցեալ է զերեսս ի վերայ երկրիս
Եօրպատականի առնուլ զառ, որ և եկեալ
է բազմօր զօրօք ի վերայ Վաւրթժու, և
լստ բազդի և աջոյման իւրոյ առեալ է
զՎաւրթժ, զԵրզնա, և զյրեւան ի մի-
աւմ ամի և տալս զկնի միւր ամի առեալ
է զԴաննայ և զամենայն երկիրն Սրաւ-
րաւ, զՇամախի, զՎարդանա և զԵրզնա
նոցա, զՏփլիս քաղաք, և զբոլոր տունն

Սրաց ի ձեռաց Օսմանցւոյ : Եւ զկնի աղ-
տոցիկ պարտմանց հաշտութիւն եւս ընդ
թագաւորին Օսմանցւոյ հաստատեալ է
զոհաննա և զբաւնա յատկապա զանկով
իւրաքանչիւրոյ ի մէջ երկուց աշխարհաց
Պարսից և Հաւանց : Եւ սա պայտիս
քաջութեամբ և արիւթեամբ կեցեալ վախ-
ճան առնուլ ի սէթ թուին : Եւ սաք զկնի
սորա թագաւորեցոյցունն զթմուն արին
Շահնաթի. ի սոյն թուին Ղարահան և սա
ևս արիւթեամբ և խաղա կառնեալ վա-
քեալ զկեանութիւն իւր՝ փոխ յառեալ
ցրա, թագով զթագաւորութիւն որդւոյ
իւրում փոքր Շահարաւին ի սէր թուին
Հայոց : Ար և սա սուտեւ հաստատեաց
զգահ իշխանութեան իւրեանց, և խաղա
զացոյց զերկիր և զժողովարդ իւր յան-
նայն կողմանց թշնամեաց, որ և յաւաքս
սորա շինեցան ամենայն աւերակ գեղօք և
քաղաքք, և երկիր աշխարհիս Հայոց և
Պարսից զի կարի յրիտանեաւեր ելալ
խարհաշէն էր, որոյ աղաղաւ հաստատե-
ցան յամենայն տեղիս եկեղեցիք վանորայք
և անուրայք, մանաւազ ուրք Մթուն
Լճիկանի, և ուրքն անձաւոր Ղա-
ռանա, առ սրբազան հայրապետին Քիւ

խաղաղութիւն և Պետրոս կաթողիկոսին Առ-
ուանից : Եւ սա եւս այսպէս բարեբախ-
տիկ լեալ յաշխարհի, զձարի ի ՌՃ ԹԵ-
ւին, և ետ զիշանութիւն Թագաւո-
թեանն որդի նորին Հահ Սուրբանն ի նոյն
ամին, որ և յառաջ տրաւ առաւել խաղա-
ղութիւն եղև աշխարհի և շինութիւն ա-
ւերակոց, և բաղմամարդութիւն երկրի,
ուղղութիւն և իրաւունք դատաւորաց,
չարաւորութիւն հարկապահանջութեանց,
և բարեկարգութիւն ամենայն գործոց և
արարչութեանց : Սա եւս այսպէս կառու-
մարեալ զերկիր և զհնազանդեալս իւր՝ ժամ-
նանի ի ՌՃԹ ԹԵւին : Օ կնի որոյ Թագա-
ւորն որդի սորին Հահ սուրբան Հիւսէինն
կոչեցեալ ի ժամանակի մերում, ի տես տը-
ղայութեան գոյով ի ՌՃԹ ԹԵւին :

Երբ՝ զոր ինչ մինչեւ յայս վայր եղեալ
էր՝ ի նախկին գրոց պատմութեան, մանա-
ւանդ ի գրոցն Բաբել վարդապետի ծաղ-
կարազ արարեալ հաւաքեցաք, որում Տէր
ողորմեացի, յետ այսորիկ պարտիմք ի ներկոյ
ժամանակս այս՝ յորում կամք, գծապրել
աստ, և Քրիստոսի փառք յառաւանս,
ամեն :

Յաւել Սուրբան և խնդարեմ Բաբելոն
Թեան Պարից :

Ի տաճներորդ ամի Թագաւորութեան
իւրում Հիւսէին կոչեցեալ Հահ սուրբա-
նին տրաւ հրաման մարդաթիւ և աշխար-
հագիր առնել ազգիս Հայոց, և ամենայն
ազգաց ընդ իշխանութեամբ իւրով եղե-
րոց, և ելեալ հրամանատարք նորին արք իւ-
րաւ հաւատարմք տան նորա՝ գրիչք և բար-
տաւ զարք, զի անսխալ և առանց Թագաւոր
նկելոյ գրեցեն զամենայն հասակ ի հնգե-
տասնամանից և ի վեր, տղամանցեալ ի
հրովորատակին այսպէս. « Եթե՛ որ գացե-
ղթագուցեալ և զրոյեալ որ, և յայանեցե-
ղոյն արքայի, գլուխ զօգեցոյն՝ արքայի, և
ինչք նորա աւար այնմ լիցն՝ որ գուշակեա-
լոյն ու » : Ո՞ր և ալարին խակ, զի յոյժ յազ-
մամբ և սրանմամբ զննեալ տեղեկանային
պէտքս հնարիք և սպանալեօք : Ի գիւ-
ղի ուրումն զտանուտեր գիւղին և դքա-
հանայտն և զհարկերայն զոր գլխ տան, ար-
գելուին ի տունս ուրոյն և զտո ի միմեանց,
և ապա ասել տային զանուանս արանց եղե-

լոց ի գիւղին և գրեկն, և բերեալ ի մի փայր՝
հաւատար տեսնեկն, և թէ աւելի կամ
արեւսս գտանեկն անայեալքն ի միմեանց,
և և զի թուղթ եւս առնուին ի բերանոց նա-
ցաւ, արեւին ճաշիկս, զի թէ սուրբ գրու-
ցեն, այնքան տալանս վճարեցեն, և կա-
խելով ի փայտէ բրածեմ առնեկն զայն ա-
նայեալ ի սակաւ տալանսն, ընդ նմին կա-
շառս յոյսիս և տառնորդս, և զկարգեալ
փարձս պիտուորացն առաւել յան զչափն
առնուին, և ապա զգրեալն կրկնեկն: Վորս
յետ այսորիկ գրեցին և զփանորայս քանա-
սրաս և զգիւղորէից եկեղեցիսն: ընդ նո-
մին և զեպիսկոպոստոնս և զարեւոյս, և զե-
րիցանս առհասարակ ի թիւ արկին, և ա-
ւարտելով պետաւ սկսան գրել և զփառաւա-
կանս, զճանապարհորդսն, և զորս տալ-
ին առեւտրոց տեարքն էին և գտնենեւանն
ի համարաթիւն գրելով տարեալ ցուցին
ատենի արքային: Իսկ անց եղին հարկս ի
վերայ գրելոց պիտոյն՝ երեքոյսորիկ յաւել-
մամբ ի վերայ առաջնոց սահմանին, և ի վե-
րայ եկեղեցական պաշտօնից որ յառաջ-
նումն ոչ երեւէր բնաւ, տառնոյսորիկ ա-
ռաւել քան աշխարհականաց ծանր բնութե-
նէին, և զայն աշխարհադրութիւն հաղիւ-

մինչև յերիս ամս աւարտեցին, զի ի աճիւր
թուին սկսան և ի աճծա թուին հրաման
արարին զերեք տարուոյ զգլխահարկ ժողովր-
դեանն զոր նոր եղին (հաւարել): նաեւ փա-
ռին եկեղեցականաց և կրօնաւորաց կարգեա-
լին ընդ նմին միահաղցն առնուր: Վրաս ել մեծ
վեղին Վարդապետականի որ նստէր ի Վա-
րէժ քաղաքի, որոյ անունն էր Սրգաթա-
հիր, հազար հարիւր արամբ, և եկն յերկիրս
Վարդապետ և ի Վանձայ քաղաք, և բա-
կուս առնուր յոյժ աւերարդ օր քան զգրեալն:

Այս ցրուեցան որքն ընդ երկիրս և ընդ
գիւղորայս ի թիւ տրեալ գրուին, և քանզի
յոյժ ծանր էր լուծն և ոչ կարեին տանել,
փան որոյ չարչարեին և կեղեքեին, և ջար-
դելով առնուին ըստ չափու իւրեանց ի յո-
լովիցն յոյժ, և ի փարունցն՝ փայր, զի (մեծ)
գեղն հարիւր յիսուն, հարիւր, կամ յի-
սուն թուանն, և յոյժ փայրն յերեսուն
և կամ ի քան թուաննէ չէր պակաս: Այն-
պէս ի փառաւականաց, և յամենայն ար-
ուեստաւորացն առին: Այս պատգաւ ամի ամի
զգլխսն համարեին, և հարկահանքն ե-
կեալ ճշգիւ առնուին: Յետ այսորիկ միւս
եւս կերպիս հարկս եղին, և անուանեցին
այն Վարդապետ, զարձեալ միւս եւս և

դին, և զայն ասացին Շահապի Իրանի միւս եւս յաւելին, և անուանեցին Շէշ փէշ, և զայն երկքարակեցին: Այս գարձեալ կրկին եւս եղև հրաման երանել և գրել զամենայն սահմանս երկրի, գիւղ, բնից և ագարակաց, զհող, զքաւ, զայգի, զանգաստան, զծառ, զառնեկ, և զամենայն ինչ որ պիտայ է մարդկան՝ առ հասարակ զամենայն գրեցին, թէ Հայոց, և թէ այլազգեաց, այլ և փոխարնակոց, և իսաշնարածաց, ազգ մի որ Թարազանաց ասեն, զնոցին եւս զանգեսաց և զհօտս, և զբոխ, և զբոխքս, և գերման ամենայն անասնոց չորքատանեաց ի թիւ արկին, և յառաջնոցն վերայ կրկին յաւելին զհարիս:

Օսյս ամենայն զոր գրեցաք՝ նորահնար չարիք էր, զոր եղին ի վերայ առաջնոց սահմանալ հարկացն, որ և առաջինն եւս ծանրաւոյն էր բեռն ի վերայ ժողովրդեան, այժմն փոխանակ թեթեւացուցանելոյ, զայսքան եւս յաւելին ի վերայ: Այս գարձեալ որ պէս ստորութիւն է Պարսից իշխանութեան՝ յամենայն բաղարս տէրութեան իւրեանց, և ի վերայ ամենայն երկրի, պետս և գլխաւորս զօրաց կացուցանել, որպէս Խան, Սուլթան, Ղուլթեկի, Վեզիր, Կա-

րուղայ, և Թուխթար: Յառաջեալ մն որոյ միանգամ այսպիսեաց իշխանութիւն ինչ տային, ոչ գիւրեաւ փոփոխէին և առնուին ի նմանի: Բայց թէ մեծ յանցանք ինչ և կամ վնաս առնն յայանիւր, և կամ փասն զրկու թեւան և ազահու թեւան զանգատողք և դատախազք երթացին ի դուռն արքայի, և զյանցանս առնն յանի կացուցանէին, և ազա հաղիւ ուրեմն առնուին յանեմն յայնմանէ զիշխանութիւնն զայն: Իսկ այժմիս և այսու թագաւորաւս ոչ այսպէս, այլ թագաւորն և նախարարք իւր կաշառակուր լեալ փայթ բնդ փայթ փոփոխեալ հանէին, և ի միում ամի երկուս և երեսուորս և իշխանս՝ ի միում քաղաքի և դաւառի զինի միմեանց առաքէին: Այս նոքա եկեալ որպէս և ինքեանք կաշառք բռնացեալ էին զիշխանութիւնս իւրեանց, նոյնպէս և նորա այնպէս ամենայն զգառ և զիրաւունս ժողովրդեան ի բայ եղեալ կեղեքէին, կողոպտէին զհնազանդեալս իւրեանց, սոյնպէս առնէին և օրինադահք դախրք նոցա, այսինքն դատաւորք Շխալսլամք, Հիւք, և որոյ Ղազիս ասեն:

Կարձեալ յաւելին միւս եւս չարիս, զի որ միանգամ տեարք էին գիւղից և ագարակաց,

նաեւ փարձաւ որք՝ այսինքն Դժեղ Հատեալ,
զօրապէս և զօրք որքան դրամոյ շափ որ
ք և ունէր, գնորին տառանորդն եւս հա-
տին, և թագաւորական արարին. իսկ նա
քառ և յիւրեանց դրամոցն տային, այլ դոյն
եւս յաւելին և եղին ի վերայ իւրաքանչիւր
հնազանդելոցն, և այնպէս առնէին. Եմանա-
պէս և այլ բազմաչոյլ չարիս յորդեցին.
ուստիս և դատերս ուժգին քարշէլով, զա-
րքս և զիմանալս բռնի ուրացուցանելով, և
զյեռամեացելոց զինչն և զտապումն և
զգանձս յափշտակելով՝ և ուրացողացն տա-
լով, արպէս և որքան տօնաթմաւորս և մե-
ծատունս աչօք մերովք տեսար ի Ծուղայ
և Արեւան՝ որ ի վերջն աղքատութիւնն
և ի թշուառութիւնն հատեալ էին, և հար-
ցեալ զպատճառն տեղեկացար, որ փան
ուրացողացն և յափշտակութեան ընչից իւ-
րեանց էին եղեալք այնպէս. Ենպէս զա-
մենայն բարեկարգութիւնս բարձին յերկրէ,
զորս մանրամասնաբար ոչ գրեցար. միան-
գամայն և օրէնս եղին իւրեանց, իսկ գտան
հակառակ փոփոխելով զեղեալ տահմանս
նորս, զոր փանս գլխահարկաց և դատաս-
տանաց եղեալ էր ի վերայ նոցա. Սան-
այնորիկ եհաւ և ի վերայ նոցա իրաւունք

արդարադատին Ըստուծոյ, այլ և ի վերայ
ազգիս Հայոց. եւս զոր յաղագայն գծա-
գրելոց եմ, սակաւեցին անողորմ և անառ-
տում զօրն կեղեքելոցն և կողալուելոցն
զկեանս տառապելոցն, զորս փորք ի շատե-
ծանուցար. իսկ յաղագս անօրէնութեան
օրինադանդութեան, սարսութեան և ան-
մասնութեան և անմիարանութեան սոցա,
միանգամայն և ընդգէմ դառնալոյ Ըստու-
ծոյ և աստուածային գրոց և պատուիրա-
նայն զոր և ծանուցի ձեզ Ըստուծով, որ
եղեւ պատճառ կործանման իրեանց, յոր-
մէ Տէր Աստուած ազատեցէ. և նմա փառք
չաւիտեանս. ամեն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Դ.

Սան հախախտ և ընդդէմալից՝ որ ի թիւ
դէմ յիւր ընդդէմ իւրադրութեան Պարիս:

Վանդի բոտ նախագութեան սրբ-
բոյ մարգարէին Վանիէի և բոտ լրման ժա-
մանակի տեպեան նորին, որպէս և կարծի ի
բազմաց խնամանագունից փանս տասն եղի-
լաց խոյն նշանակ յառնելոյ տասն թագա-

ւորոց յազգէն Պարսից, որպէս Թիւ համարոյ
սոցին է. և կամ Թէ ըստ կամաց նախասնա-
մողին Վատեճոյ, որ զիրաւունս հատուցման
իւրոյ, իբրեւ զբաժանն ի ձեռնն ունի՝ և
ու՛մ կամի արբուցանէ զնա. և տէր է թա-
ղաւորութեան մարդկան և երկրի, որու՛մ
և կամի նմա շնորհէ. ի՞նչ որու՛մ և այժմս է
տեսանել. և զի եղեւ ի ժամանակս սոյն
սուղան շիւտին թագաւորիս, ազգ մի ի
կողմանս Խորասանայ և Վանտահարու, զո-
րոս Վրուանք անուանեն. և ասեն վասն
ազգիս այսորիկ՝ եթէ են բնիկ ի լեռնաբը-
նակացն Կաւկասու, և յերկրէն Վրանաց, որ
են ազգաւ Վրուանք, որ այժմ եւս նախկին
անուամբն վերակոչին, և լեալ են հաւատով
քրիստոնէայք, և ապա զինի ժամանակաց
Վանկթամուրն կոչեցեալ բռնակալ, որ
տիրեաց յորով մասին աշխարհիս յազմու-
թեամբն իւրով, զոր պատմութիւնքն վիս-
յեն զամանէ, և ասեն վտարանդեալ զազգս
զայս ի տեղոյն իւրեանց, և տարեալ դըր-
տան և հինգ տունն բնակեցոյց յերկրին
յայնմիկ. Եւ զինի ժամանակաց դարձու-
ձեալ են ի կրօնս Մահմետի. և ապա ուն-
ճացեալ և բազմացեալ են, և լեալ իշխանք
և պետք յիւրոքանիւր մասին, և տիրազք-

յուխք մինչեւ ի ժամանակս Դահարաւս կո-
չեցեալ արքային. որոյ յառնուին զՎանտա-
հար և տիրելն կողմանցն այնոցիկ՝ նուաժին
և սոքա բնդ իշխանութեամբ նորին, և զինի
որդւոց և թոռանց նոցին մինչեւ ի ժամա-
նակս այս ի աճծ Թիւս մեր. և ապա սիր-
տան ազմիկ և փրգովել կողմանքն այնոցիկ.
Եւ և միւս ևս ազգ որ Պուճանուանին,
այլ և երկիրն Սոփուխ Պուրազու զոր Թուրք
մանն կոչեն, և գլխաւոր մի սոցա որ Սու-
լէյման պապա ասին, որ ասէր զանձնէ գոյ
յազգէ առաջնոց թագաւորացն որք նստե-
ին ի Վաւրէժ շահատանի թահանշահ և
Կաղուպ անուանեալք, նա և յերկիրն Վո-
տարապատու շրջեցաւ. Եւ զգլխաւոր նոցին
Վախնադուրա կոչին, այլ և լեռնակամքն
Կաւկասու, միւնարնակ աղւրն Վեկաց, որ
և Վաղիկք՝ և ըստ գրոց չօնք կոչեցեալք,
և բնական թշնամիք ի սկզբանէ երկրիս Վո-
տրապատականի, ազգիս չայոց և օրինաց մե-
րոց. Սոքա միահաղայն և գլխոյ գրեալն
ամենեքեան հետեալք թիկուն. դարձու-
ցին, և բնդդէմ դարձան հրամանաց թա-
ղաւորին Պարսից. Եւ սկսան յիւրացան
չիւր երկրէ զշրջակայս և զմերձակայս իւ-
րեանց կողալտեալ, գերի առնել, և սրոյ

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ճարակ տալ, և այս ոչ թէ ի միւսմ ամի,
այլ յերկար ժամանակս: Իշւ ապրտամբիլ
տոցա սակաւ ամօք, զկնի և կից միմեանց
եղեն, և թէպէտ թագաւորն զօրս գումա-
րեալ ի ձեռն զօրագլխաց և սարսաղեւտաց
տաւրէր ի վերայ նոցա՝ բաշխելով՝ և յորով
գանձս, ասկայն ոչ ինչ օգտիւր, այլ յաղ-
թահարեալ լինէին. թէպէտ ամենց բաղ-
մաւ ջանիւ և հազիւ ուրեմն դադարեցու-
ցին զստօլութիւնն ոչ տնքան յաղթու-
թեամբ՝ քան թէ հաճելով զմիտս նոցա ըստ
կամոց իւրեանց: Բայց կազ կողմանցն
Վանտահարու և Կովկասոցնց յերկարեաց
բազում ժամանակս, զոր յիւրում տեղ-
ւոցն աստացութ՝ և թէ Տէր կամեացի: Իշւ
նմա փոռք յաւիտեանս, ամէն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ե.

Որ Ինչ Գրեցին յգլխէ Հինգ ընդ Ռեւոյն Երկր-
Եւրոպայ:

Օր յոցանի իսկ և ամենեցուն այս,
թէ առն և կամ այլ ինչ շնուած թէ մեծ
թէ փոքր՝ յորժամ հնացեալ փլանելոց իցէ.

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նախ որմուկք և հիմուկք խախտեալ բաժու-
նին, և այսա ձեզուն ամենայն իջանէ, և
զկնի այնորիկ ամենայն ստանիրն ի վայր ի-
ջեալ կործանի: Եւ յաղէս և զկեւ և թմաղա-
ւորութեան Պարսից, քանզի բնակիչք լի-
րինն Կովկասու, որք Վաղկիք կաշին, յայտ
կողմանէ յերկնն ի տեղի որ Վախ, Ռար, և
Թաղաւ, և այլ գիւղօրացից անուանք յաղ-
թորթին, որոց գլխաւոր էր Եւրի սուրգան ան-
ուամբ, որ նախ հրամանաւ Հաճին նաւեր,
Սա և այլ յորովք ինքնազուխք միտքաւ
նեալք ընդ նմա՝ զարձան և ապրտամբեցին
ի թաղաւորեն ի ուժկա թուփն, որ և յա-
ռաջ քան զայս Վերսելաւ երկիրն, այլ և
Հարբաւ, Պանծաղ, Մուսգարաք, Չար-
դաթալաւ, և այլ յորով գիւղօրացք ասպա-
տանիւնայ և գերեզմարեալ էին և աւարի ա-
ռեալ: Եւ յժմա եկեալ ի Վանտաք անուան
գիւղօրացի իսպառ ստարան: Իշւ այսոյէս
գրգռեալ ամ յամէ տաղատակ ասեալ
յայս կողմ և յայն կողմ Կուր գետոյն յեր-
կրին Հարբաւ և Վարպաւ և Վասանաւ
նահանգին մինչեւ մերձ ի Համախի քաղաք:
Իսկ յայտ կողմանէ յորովք ի նահանգէն
Վաղարաւ, որ է Վասաւաւ և ի յերկրէն
Եւրոպայ Հասիդուէն որ են Օսկամներն,

Դա և յորս գեան Վանճապատան՝ այսինքն
 քրն Դամբոս, Վանճապատան, Ռախնա-
 պատու ձորն, և Քաւքարատան. այլ և
 յորովք ի գիւղորէիցն Պարտայու, և գղաշ-
 տափայր գիւղորայսն միահաղոյն կոտորեալ,
 գերի և աւարի առեալ ամայի արարին, և
 զմնացեալսն փախտեայ ի լերինս և ի գա-
 րանձուս Մրցախզ, և իւրարանելիւր հան-
 դեպ ամուր տեղիան զերծեալք զապրուստ
 իւրեանց հոգային: ԸՅԼ և ի ռՃՏ թուին
 նոյն ինքն ԸՅԻ սուրբանն գումարեալ ի վե-
 րայ ինքեան. զորս ի նոյն ազգէն Վաղարշ
 թուով ոչ սակաւ քան զութ հազար, եկն
 ի վերայ քաղաքին Վանճայու մինչեւ եմուտ
 ի սրդոտայն (այսինքն Քաւքան), որ ի կողմն
 Սոթորուլան անուն գեղն, թող տարով
 քաղաքացւոցն: Եւ յորժամ մահն ի ներսն,
 ապա յարեան քաղաքացիքն և կարսն ստոի
 և անտի զանցս գնացից նոցա, և կոտորե-
 ցին ի նոցանէ մինչեւ ի հազար քսան և մի
 ոգիս աւերի կամ պակաս, և ոչ ինչ կարա-
 ցին առնել. այլ յետս դարձեալ ամօթով
 գնացին ի տեղիս իւրեանց:

Եւ այսքան իրս զոր աստ գրեցաք ի
 մէնջ, յութ և յինն տարի դործեցաւ, ըս-
 կեալ ի ռՃԻ թուէն: Եւ որքան հրաման

եղիւ ի Թագաւորէն գնալ զորացն Պար-
 սից ի վերայ նոցա, այսինքն բնակեւոցն
 ի քաղաքն Դամասու և Վանճայու և ի չորս
 շակայս նոցա, և խանքն որք նստէին անդ,
 որքան ջանացին՝ բնաւ օգինչ կարացին դի-
 մակայիլ, մանաւանդ թէ յաղթահարեալ կո-
 րացան առաջի նոցա. որպէս և Հասան ալի
 խանն Դամասու հագեալասան հազար զօրօք
 գնաց մինչեւ ի սահմանս նոցա. և նոքա յա-
 ռաւօտու սրահուն յանկարծօրէն հասին ի վե-
 րայ նոցա և զյորով մասն զորացն կոտորեալ
 զիտանն եւս սարանին, և մնացեալքն փախը-
 տեայ դարձան: ԸՅԼ և ասպատակեալն
 Դամբօսու, Օղուրու խանն Վանճայու
 եւ ընդ առաջ նոցա և ընդ կրունկն փախ-
 տեայ դարձաւ, և եմուտ ի Վանճայ: ԸՅԼ
 և Քիլի խան անուն ոմն իշխող Դաբուայ՝
 սուղ ինչ ժամանակ ընդդիմացաւ նոցա,
 գնա եւս օպանին: Իսկ ի վերայ այսր ամենայ-
 նի ազգս այս ժպիրհ առաւել ևս համարձա-
 կեցան, և ապա ձեռն ամբարձին ի վերայ
 երկրին Կախեթու և աղգին Վրաց. որ և
 նախ քան զայս քանիցս անգամ ուժգնու-
 թեամբ բախեալ էին ընդ միմեանս, և հե-
 ղումն արեան ոչ սակաւք արարեալ երկո-
 ցունց կողմանց, որպէս և Իմամղուլի խանն

Կատեմա մի անգամ և երկու փախուցին ի սրտերագլէ, և աւարի առին զամենայն հաճ և կարասի նորա: Իւ այսպէս յառաջ խաղաղով ամ յամէ աւերեցին զամենայն երկիրս նորա, մինչեւ ի հոգրեմի թագաւորանիստ տեղիսն իւրեանց, և զեպիսկոպոսաբանն ի բաց թողեալ՝ ի յամուրս թաւաշ լերանցն ելին: Իւ սոցին սցապէս և սցոքան ժողհեղին միւս եւս դոյ պատճառ, զոր այժմ՝ գրեցից:

Բանցի յերկրին Շիրուանու ի նահանգին Վաղարա գոյ իշխանութիւն ազգի միւս Սահմեասիանի զոր Սէլք անուանեն, ի գիւղն Վարժաշին կոչեցեալ՝ Վարաուանուանեալ տեղին: Իւ երեւի թէ՛ սոցին եղև ոմն Սէլք՝ զոր Սէլք Սհամեուտ աւելին, այր հանձարեղ և բախտիւն յաջողակ, և յոյժ ազաճ քան զՅուգա, և անյադ քան զտղուկ, սա զորք երկիրն Վարարայս ի բռնն էառ Սախմայիւ ի խանէն Շամախու: Իւ երկիրն էր բարեկէ և լին և մարդաշատ, թէ՛ Հայ ազգօք, որ ի Վարարաղաւ երկրէն ժողովուրդք յղովք անցեալ էին յերկիրն այն աւելի քան զտեղականն, և եթէ այլ ազգօք՝ որ բնիկ յերկրէն են, յորոց պէսպէս հնարիւք Սէլքա

այս ժողովեալ միեկեայ գանձս յորմս և սառտիկս տիւսյ և արծաթայ, և բռնացաւ ի վերայ ամենեցուն, յորմէ վրտացեալ ամենայն որ արտունջ եղեն զնմանէ, որպէս և Հայ ազգն Պոլեթուն ժողովեալ ի գուն խանին, և աղղ եւս արարին արքային: Իւ ոմն Բարսեղ անուան քահանայ, որ էր բնիկ Վարարաղաւ յերկրէն խաւեառ, և ի յաղղէ Սէլքայ, էր անդ, որ բնդ գնացոյ ժողովողէ անն սքա եւս աղղաւ գնացեալ էին և զՍախմայ գեղն նորոց շինեալ և բնակեալ, որ և քան զայն՝ աղ առաւել ոչ գոյր ի մէջ գիւղօրէիցն: Օսա առեալ յղեցին Սարահան ի գուն արքայի, զի ի վերայ ինքեանց արապէ գիլխանութիւն Սէլքութեան աղղին Հայոց՝ որ անդ, իբր գոյով յողղէ Սէլքայ: Ար և գնացեալ ըստ կամաց իւրոց առեալ հրաման յաղղայէն եկն, բայց սախուն իւր բռնն էր, ոչ կարաց բնդ ինեղբաւ և երայ կաշառօք կա բացոյց զաւս բռնաւ որին Շամախու, և ոչինչ արարին զբանն երկունն Վրացիս կարան բնդ նմա մեծամեծքն Շամախու, ող և ի խանէն ազատարեցան, և գնացին առ թագաւորն գնանն ձգեցին յիշխանութենէ, և զՍէլքէն արանջեցին առ թագաւորն, եթէ յղով գանձս ժողղ

վեալ է, և կամի ապառաժել ի բէն: Եւ
արար հրաման զամենայն փնչան զգայուն
և շարժուն՝ որ փնչ և իցե՝ ի գիր ձգել,
և առնուլ (ի գանձն) թագաւորական, և
զինքն իւրայնովք ի բանտ արկանել: որ և
արարին իսկ: Եւ եկեալ գահիճք արքայա-
կան ի գիր և ի զաւթ ձգեցին զտուն և զինչս
Սելբին, և զինքն ընդ եղբօրն, որոց անունն
Մանաւ կոչուի, կապանօք տարան ի քաղաքն
Համախի, և արկին ի բանտ ամիսս փնչ. և
դարձեալ տրձակեալք անտի՝ կրկին կարգե-
ցան յիշատակեան իւրեանց: Բայց փնչք
սոցին զոր առին յարքունիս, ասէին զթիւ-
սակոյն և արժատեցն լինիլ իրքիւ ետեա-
նապառն հազար թուաման, զոտ ի յոյլ կա-
հից և կարասեաց, և չորքոտանեաց և միքե-
րաց, որոց ոչ գոյր թիւ: Քանզի ասէին լինիլ
ամա ջրաղաց հինգ հարիւր, քիչ որով զը-
րինձն զունն հինգ հարիւր, քան և ճաղնակ որ
զտալիւրումն քարչեն՝ հինգ հարիւր, գետք
և առութ զոր ալի ասեն՝ ի վերայ արարից
և արմատաց երկրագործութեանց՝ յոյովք,
և զոյն մօտ նկատեացես փարթամութեան
առնս:

Դարձեալ զինի սակաւ ամաց անցելոյց
ի վերայ այս ամենայնի, Հիւսէին անունն ու-

մին խան Համախու՝ կրկին բնթանեաց զտ-
աւ երկասին եղբարսն հրամանաւ Հահին, և
գլխատեաց, և ապա ի ձեռն առեալ զերե-
սին որդիս նորա զոր փէյքաք, Բարահիմ, և
Ղապոււմ ասէին, յոյժ շարշարանօք և խոշ-
տանդանօք ետ հանել և զմնացորդս ընչիցն,
զոր ասէին քսան և հինգ հազար թուաման,
այսքան եւս այժմս առին և թողին զնոսս:
Բայա փէյքաք անուանեալն գնաց առ Հա-
հին, և առեալ զՍելբու թիւն՝ եկն ի տեղի
իւր, և փարէք ըստ հայրենի սովորութեան:
Որ և զինի չորից ամաց միւս եւս Հիւսէինն,
անուն խան Համախու, ետ գլխատել զփէյ-
քարն ի տան իւրում, և ապա դուռնն, բլ-
կանայս և զորդիս և զամենայն փնչան իրքիւ
ի գերութիւն փարեալ ածին ի Համախի:
զինի որոց զննեալ և որոնեալ զամենայն զոր
փնչ և ունէր, զայն եւս առին և արարին ար-
քունիս, որ և զհամար ընչից սորին եւս ասա-
ցին գոլ աւելի քան գրսան հազար թուաման:
Բայց եղբարք սորին Բարահիմն և Ղապոււմն
փախտեաց գնացին առ Սել սուլտանն լերայ
յիշեալ, և անտի անցին յայն կողմն լերինն
առ մեծամեծս ազգացն այնոցիկ Ղազկեաց:
Որ ի որպէս ասեն՝ երկուս կրօնս ունիլ Սա-
մաւականաց, ոմանք Հիւսէ և Կահին՝ որ են

Պարսիկք և Վրացարէք, և ոմանք Սաւանք՝ որ
են Օսմանցիք, և այս լեւոնականք և Վրացան
աղկէն Վանտահարու, և Օղլիկք, և Պրե-
խարացիք, և Վրաքացիք, և այլ յարմք որ
ընդ տիեզերս կան կրօնիս քս այս, և վասն
այն գնացին սորա առ Վաղիկոն, վասն զի
ընդ նոսա միակրօնք էին, և առեն թէ քո
կրօն և բացագլուխ չընկեցան ի գրեւն նո-
ցա վասն նախատանայ իւրեանց՝ զոր կրե-
ցին ի ձեռաց Շիւիցն, քանզի այսպէս է
ստորութիւն տեղւոյն: Եւ այսպէս չընին
նոցա ի նախանձ գրգեաց զնոսա, և չարա-
ցան քան զգալան կտուղի: Եւ յոյժ անթիժ
համարեցան ինքեանց այնպէս լինին նոցա,
և ձայն տուեալ միմեանց՝ միարանեցան և
խրատուեալ ժողովեցան ի մի վայր բիւրք
բխբուց և հազարք հազարաց, քանզի միշտ
ընին տապառակ յայտ կողման եղերոց
Վաղիկոնցն՝ զոր նախ յիշեցոր, և նորա եւս
խորհեալ էին գալ և խառնիլ ի սոսա: Որ-
պէս և յանցեալ ամին Սուրխոյ անուն գը-
խաւոր նոցա եկին մինչեւ ի Վրաց տուն,
անցեալ ի ներքոյ Կոխեթու և Տիփիսու առ
պատակեաց զգաւառն զոր Սոմեթ և
Կուժուսի տուն: Իսկ այժմ սակս վերոյ ա-
տոցեալ պատճառին ի ռճհա թուին օգու-

տառի տան, գրոհ տուեալ առ հասարակ
միահաղոյն ազգս այս Վաղիկք, ամենայն գը-
խաւորք իւրեանց որք էին այսպիկ, նոյն
վերոյ ասացեալ Սուրխոյն, Շամխոյն, Իսմին,
հաւի Կոփաթն և Վլի սուլդանն, ամե-
նայն զօրութեամբ իւրեանց եկին ի վերայ
քաղաքին Շամխու, և յաւուրս ութ տառ-
տիկ կռուեցան, և ոչ կարացին առնուլ:
Եւ և համբաւ եւս եհաւ առ նոսա ի հե-
տուտ, իբր թէ յոմանց յետագայից իւ-
րեանց աղմկեալ իցէ զերկիր նոցա, վասն
որոյ յանկարծակի ի գիշերի միում գարծեալ
դարձան ի տեղիս իւրեանց: Եւ ապա քա-
ղաքացիքն Շամխու սկսան ամրացուցա-
նել զկողմանս քաղաքին ցանկովք խորա-
գունիւք, և շրջապատ որմովք: Եւ և
որքք եւս հասին ստոռի և անտի, (այսինքն
Կանչացու և Վարաբաղու և Սիւնու,) այլ
հրամանաւ Շահին եկն նոր խան քաղաքին,
որոյ անունն էր Շիւսին խան Վրուլեցի:
Եւ ցայն ամի տրհեցին զքաղաքն մինչեւ ի
գալ միւս ամին ի նոյն ժամանակն և ի նոյն
ամիսն:

Դարձեալ եկին վերոյ յիշեալ լեւոն-
կանքն քան զառաջինն յոյժ ամբոխիւք, և
սրտաւրազեցան ուժգնութեամբ զաւուրս

երկոտաւան, և ապա առին զքաղաքն Շա-
մախի ի ԲԵՏԻԹԱՆ Լայոյ, ոգոտաւ առ-
այ, ի սուրբ Արտուածածնի պահոցն, յաւուր
չորեքշաբաթի: Եւ եղև այսպէս առնուըն-
քանցի որպէս յառաջն ասացաք՝ երկու կրօ-
նրս առնիլ Սահմեսականաց, այսինքն՝ Շի-
այք, և Սունիք, և բնակիչք յայտմ քաղա-
քի ընդ կիսոյ էին, այլ և յայտմ էին
Սունիք, վասն որոյ ի Սորո-Թորբաղ ան-
ուանեալ կողման բնակիչքն ի գիշերի բացին
զկողմն իւրեանց, և ի ներքս առին ի զօրացն
Թճամեաց. և ընդ բուսանալ առաւօտուն
ինքեանք եւս խառնեցան ընդ նոսա և ե-
տուն ի ձեռս զքաղաքն: Եւ մտեալ ի ներ-
քս Վաղկացն՝ սուր ի գործ արկին ի վերայ
Վղարշ Սահմեսականացն. և զինչ առացից
սակս աղետիցն և արեան հեղանացն, որ իւր-
բեւ զգեա հոսէին ի մէջ շուկայիցն. և ութ
հարիւր այր ի գլխաւորաց քաղաքին և ի
մեծամեծացն փախուցեալ և մտեալ էին ի
մամն իւրեանց, որ ի մէջ քաղաքին: Եւ
զնոսա անդ իրբեւ զանասունս զեհուին, մի-
անդամացն հատին և ապառեցին զձայն վա-
յոցն: Եւ յայտմ է զօրացն Վարսից և ի գր-
խաւորաց նոցա փոխատեայ գնացին յն և
կամեցան. աջ նւթ, տունք և բնամանք

և զաւակք նոցա գերեվարեցան և աւար
գնացին: Եւ զհաւնն Հիւսէին ըմբռնեալ
պահեցին քանի մի աւուրս, և ապա ետուն
ի ձեռն Վարաշիմ աղին եղբոր յառաջ ա-
ռացեալ Մէլիք Փէլքարին, որոպան փոխա-
նակ հօր և եղբոր իւրոյ: Իսկ Լայ աղբ քրիս-
տոնեայքն թէ՛ բնակիչք քաղաքին, և թէ
այլ գիւղօրէից՝ ոչ այնքան զնասեցան կո-
տորմամբ, այլ սակաւ սմանք. զի խնայեցին
ինոսա սղորմութեամբն Վրիստափ. այլ ա-
ւարումն ընկցն ոչ սակաւ եղև, նա և գե-
րեվարութիւն զաւակաց և որդւոց նոցա
ոչ եւս եղև. Վանդի գիտել եւս արժան
է յաղաքս փարթամութեան՝ քաղաքիս աչ-
սորիկ Շամսաու, զի ի մեծէ Շահաբաւէն՝
որ էառ զառ ի ձեռաց Օսմանցոց ի ռձե
Թուին, մինչև ի ռձէ Թիւն շեղ մի ոչ էր
ստերիւրեալ յայտմանէ. և զի էր պանդոզ
Կապիական ծովուն և յամենայն կողմանց
վաճառականացն տեղիք բնակութեան, և
վաճառի, և շահաւետութեան ի Հնդկաց
և ի Հուռմոց, ի Ծղղայու, ի Սուսաց, և
յամենայն երկրէ. և այսպէս լի էր ամենայն
ստացուածովք և գանձիւք: Վասն որոյ ա-
զահ և անադորոյն աղբն այն, մանաւանդ
թէ իշարարոյքն կողարտեալ առ հասարակ

մերկացուցին, որպէս այր մի անկեալ ի ձեռքս անաստուած աւազակաց, և ժողովեալ զամենայն կերպուկերպ ինչս, օսկիս և արծաթս, բերեալ արտաքոյ քաղաքին կոտորեցին ուրոյն ուրոյն, և բաժանեալ յինքնանաբարձեալ տարան ի տեղիս իւրեանց: Եւ այնքան սղեալք էին պիտոյն այնորիկ, զի ասկի մի տային հայի մից և սեխի մից: Եւ այսպէս եղև առումն ամենափարժամ մարաքաղաքին Համախու:

Եւ զինի առման քաղաքիս գլխաւորքն Վանայու և Լըբեանու աղդ արարին և բողոք բարձին առ արքայ, և ինքեանք գրոհ տուեալ ամենայն դօրօք իւրեանց եկեալ հասին ի Պարտաւ քաղաք Լըբանից առ ասին Կաւր գետոյն: Խանն Լըբեանու աւմենայն կողմնակալօք իւրովք, նոյնպէս և խանն Վանայու ամենայն մեծամեծօք իւրովք, և այլք ատի բազմութիւն զօրաց յոյժ իբրեւ երեսնից հազարաց: Իսկ յարքայէ ոչ եղև և ոչ եհաս օգնութիւն սոցա, քանզի յոյժ ի տարակուսի կայր և զբաղեալ էր ի պատերազմաց կողմանցն Վանաահաբու, միայն թէ բանիւ և թղթով հրամայեաց սոցա առնել զոր ինչ և կարացեն: Իսկ մարդախանձ գազանքն այնորիկ իբրու-

թէ ընդելք որադղք, քաջք և կիրժք ի չարիս իւրեանց, և ահարկադէմք, որ զսնուն և գձայն նոցա միայն բերով օտրտին և դողային մերձակայք նոցին, ըստ որում և այժմս նորս եւս հանդարտ և անխղով առանց ազադակի ժողովեալ էին յոյն կողմն գետոյն մեծի, և ի գիշերի միում լուսթեամբ անցեալ էին յայտ կոյս: Իսկ թաւաճօրժ և կանաչի աղգն Պարսից ըստ տոլգութեան իւրեանց՝ որ ի գիշերի մինչեւ յառաւօտ խնձցիւք արբենան, և յառաւօտուն ընդ խոր քնովք անկտնին: Եւ ապա ընդ լուսանայն և ընդ ծագել արեւուն յարեան ի պատերազմ, և մինչ սոքա զանդարանօք պատրաստեցին զինքեան, նորա յաղթաւ հարեալ արիս առաջի իւրեանց, և կոտորմամբ հասուցին մինչեւ զլեռնոտայքն Լըբախու՝ առ Վրդուա՛րան գետովն և խաչի նաճորով, Եւ այսպէս կորազլուխ եղև Գարսիցն նանրացան ի խորհուրդս իւրեանց և խաչիքն ժողովեալ զկապաւտ նոցա, դարձան ի տեղիս իւրեանց խնդութեամբ: Եւս գործեցաւ ի սէս թաւին, յաւաքս աշխն:

Եւ յանցանել ձմեռնային օտտոկաւսս ուրոյ գետոյն, և մերձենալ գարնանային քաղ-

ցրահոտ շնչմանն որ մեզ դառն երեւեցաւ,
յաւուրս մարտի ամսոյն, մերձ առ մեծի
պատեքի Տեառն, դարձեալ փռեցան ի
չար խորհուրդս իւրեանց, կրկին և եռու
պատիկ ժողովեցան գնդեցան և միացան
իբրեւ զմարտի բիւրք բիւրուց և հազարք
հազարաց, ելին ի Վուռն Արկաթի և հասին ի
Համախի, և անտի եկեալ բանակեցան ի տե-
ղին ուր Արափս և Վուր գետք խառնին ընդ
միմեանս հանդէպ բերրի դաշտին Վուղա-
նու: Եւ զօրագլուխ մի Պարսից զոր Չար-
խաճի ասէին, և նա բանակեալ էր յորով զ-
բօք ի յերկիրն Բարկուշատայ՝ ի վերայ նոյն
Արափսայ, նա ի լոյս համբաւոյ սոցա ինքնա-
հալած եղեւ իբրեւ այր ամբարիշտ, և ի չիք
դարձաւ ի տեղւոյն իւրմէ: Իսկ Հոնքն քա-
ջամարտիկք և արեանարբուք եկին զառ ի
վեր գետոյն մինչեւ ի սահմանս Բարկուշա-
տայ ի յերկիրն Տիղախայ, և պատեցին զնա
զերամբք և զդաշտօք, և կարգ առին զօրէն
ոճոյ և ինքեանք որպէս բաղմահմաւ հրն-
ձօղք անկան ի վերայ նոցա: Եւ զի լի էր
երկիրն բրիստոնէիւք՝ այլ և Վահմետակա-
նօք յորովիւք, և բաղխեցան ի վերայ նոցա
յաւուր մեծի շաքաթուն, և զաւուրս ե-
րիս ունայն և թափուր կացուցին զամենալի

երկիրն այն ի մարդկանէ և յանասնոց, կռ-
տարմամբ և գերութեամբ: Եւ անտի ան-
ցին յերկիրն Վարանդաւ, զնոյն և անդ
գործեցին, բայց Վէլիքն նոցա Պաղիր ա-
նուն փութով ընդ առաջ յղեաց նոցա
արս ոմանս յիւրմէ անտի ընծայիւք, և զկէ-
սըն թափեաց զգերւոյն և զերկիր իւր: Եւ
անտի եկեալ հասին յերկիրս Խաչինու՝ ա-
նահ և համարձակ դիմօք, զի բնաւ ոչ որ
ընդդէմ եկաց նոցա ոչ սիրով և ոչ բռնու-
թեամբ: այլ առհասարակ զթիկունս իւ-
րեանց փոխանակ դիմաց դարձուցին ի նոսա-
վասն որոյ և դիւրամուտ եղեն աստ, և զոր
ինչ կամեցան՝ զայն գործեցին, զոր ոչ բա-
ւեմ ասել:

Քանզի ի միում աւուր ի Արախառ գե-
տոյն մինչեւ ի Կրրդուական գետն և յեր-
կիրն Չարաբերդու, միահաղոյն ասպատակ
սփռեցան ընդ լեռնն և ընդ դաշտս: Եւ իսկ
զփայտաշէն տաւնս և զյարկս գիւղօրեկոյ
հրձիգ արարին, և ապա յարձակեցան ի վե-
րայ գերեաց, իջուցին ի դիմաց լեռանց և
հանին ի ծակաց վիմաց, և ի ներքոյ անտա-
ւախիտ և մացառուտ մայրիկ: Եւ ժող-
վեալ ընդ նոսա զկահ և զկարասիս նոցա,
ընդ որոց խառնեցին և զհօտս, զքսկս, և ըզ-

ընդիրս խաչանց և արջառոց և ամենայն չոր-
քտանի անասնոց, և միահաղոյն խառնեալ
վարեցին զառ ի վայր ընդ գետն խոշինու,
զդերին և զանասունն ընդ միմեանս խառ-
նեալ էին իրրեւ զհեղեղ յորդ, և որպէս
զքանակ մեծ ի գնալն իւրեանց, զոր և մեք
աչօք իսկ նկատեալք. քանզի փոխասեալ հա-
սեալ էաք ի հատար լերինն որ ի վերայ է
որոյ Մթառն Վանձասարայ, և ոտք նոցա
ոչ հասին առ մեզ: Այլ մեք անտի հայե-
ցեալ տեսանալք զեղերոյն իրադործութիւ-
նն, և այս եղև ի ռճհա թափն, ասորիկ
ամայ քան, յառաք աշխարհամտորան կի-
րակէին: Աստանօր տեսանելի է զաղեւ յե-
տամնացելոց, զուռդ կատարելոց, և զաշ-
խարս գերելոցն, զկսկիծ մարցն, և զաղէս
գերեալ զաւակացն, զողորմն որք մնացե-
լոցն, և զաւարտութիւն ընչիցն, զձայն
լալականացն խառնեալ ընդ վայռմն մի
ջակտուր արան, «բոցարեւ զնութիւնս
լերանց և կարծր վիմաց փոխեալ՝ ընդ ին-
քեանս սգակից ինքեանց առնէին:

Իսկ զորք թշնամեացն տարեալ զաւարն
և զդերին խառնեցին ի բանակն իւրեանց.
և չուեալ ի Վանակերտու բանակեցան ի
վերայ գետոյն Վրդու, զոր այժմ թաք

թառ կոչեմք ըստ պարսկականին, ի վերայ
կամրջին որ Վառի-բօրիի տուն: Այլ ոչ
տեւեցին անդ, այլ և ոչ կարացին այնքան
վնասել երկրին Չա արեւրդու և Վարտա-
յա՝ որպէս մերոյս: Վանդի նոքա յառա-
ջազգած լեալ ի յամուր անդիս լերանց իւ-
րեանց ամբացեալք էին, մանաւանդ թէ
երկոտտարգր անմը ընդդիմանային եւս, որ
և զբազում հարին ի թշնամեացն, փան որոց
զաւարն և զդերին ձեպով անցուցին ընդ
գետն մեծ կուր ի կողմանս իւրեանց, և ին-
քեանք փութացան հոտանել ի վերայ քա-
ղաքին Վանձակու:

Ըստմ' վայրի ի սոցանն փոռնդեալ և
նեղեալ մեծ պարսնն Վալարալի-պէկ, անն
Չարարեւրդու և Վայնաղին: որ էր թոռն
Վարկահոյի սուրտանին: Վանդի փոխըս-
տեայ ի յերկիրն Վարոյ էր, և անձորակ
լեալ եկն առ սոտա: Այլ զինի քանի ինչ
աւուր զորդին իւր պատանդ տուեալ, և
ինքն գաղտ դարձեալ եկն ի տեղի իւր: Իսկ
նոքա գնացեալ նստան ի վերայ քաղաքին
Վանձոյու յառաք երկոտտան, աւելի կամ
պակաս, և ոչինչ կարացին առնել, քանզի
ինեւքուստ ընդդիմանային քաղաքայիքն,
և մանաւանդ թէ յառաջացն իրաղեկ ե-

զեալ վասն սոցին գարտեան մեծատունք և
ծոխք քաղաքին, գնացին ի քաղաքն Տիփեաց
առ թագաւորն Վրաց Վախտանկ, գալ
յօգնութիւն իւրեանց, և նա խոստացեալ
էր դուրս: Այլ յորժամ մօտ եղեն սուրհանդա
կըք, և պատգամաւորք սոցա մի զմիայ կնի
ընթանային զկնի նորա. որ և եկին իսկ քառա
սուն հազարաւ ի վերայ Վաղկացն: Այլ յոր
ժամ ևհաս նա յերկիրն Հաքօսու, սորա
աստի սկսան սորիլ զէպ ի Վուր դեան. և
ոյսպէս մի ըստ միջե գնալով ի մէջ երկց
աւուրց չիք եղեալ կորեան ի տեղիս իւ
րեանց, և բարձան ի միջոյ, իսկ թագաւորն
Վրաց Վախտանկ եկն յորով ամբոխիւ ա
ւելի եւս քան զքառատուն հազար, և
բանակեցաւ ի հարաւոյ կողմանէ քաղաքին
Վանձակու օգնութեամբն Քրիստոսի Վա
տուծոյ, որում փառք յաւիտեանս. ամեն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Զ.

Վասն երկրորդ գալութեան Ռաֆայի Վրաց Վախ
տանկին ի Վանջոյ:

Այլ որպէս պատմեցաք զառաջին դա
լուստ Վախտանկին յօգնութիւն քաղա
քին Վանձակու ի կողմանէ աւարառու

թեան ազգի Վաղկաց, որ և զնոսա փախըս
տական արար առանց պատերազմի. և ինքն
ամօրեայ աւուրք նստաւ մերձ ի քաղաքն:
Իսկ քաղաքացիքն բանաւոր եղեն առ նա,
և ասեն. ոչ լինէր դուրսաւ Վաղկացն առ
մեզ և յերկիրս մեր, եթէ ոչ ի մերձակայից
և ի շրջակայ աղագոս որ զմեօք են համակամ
և միաբան չէին լեալ ընդ նոսա: Քանզի ի
սատարեւոյ սոցա եկին նորա, վասն զի միա
կրօնք և համադէնք և Սունիք են: Արդ՝ ե
թէ դու մեծի Հաճին բարեկամ և սիրելի
ես, և մեզ կամեցող, պարտիս և դու զնոսա
զերել աւարել և կողոսկոել: Այլ պատճառ
մի սոցին այսպէս ասելոյն. զի վասն դալըս
տեան նորին յօգնութիւն ինքեանց, քաղում
և յորով գրամս խոստացեալ էին նմա, և ի չը
տալն իւրեանց զնոսա, մասնեղին զնա ի ձեռս
նորա: Այլ զի էր յաւուրս գարեան ի յամենա
նրն մայիսի, ի ռճհա թուին, և առ հասարակ
փրանարեան ազգքն՝ որ և թարաքանոց կոչին,
որ խաշնարածք ելեալ էին ի վերինս և ի հո
վանոցս և ի խոտաւէտ տեղիս ըստ նախնի
սովորութեան իւրեանց, մանաւանդ թէ փա
խտեաց իսկ էին և նոքա ի յահէ Վաղկուն,
և այժմ ի թերադրութենէ Վանջեցոյ, ո
րոյ գլխաւորն էր Սաւատ անուն խանն, հը

բանան արար Վ Բախանին զորաց իւրաց եւս
նել ասպատակ ի վերայ անոցիկ յորաց նորս
ասացին : Եւ իսկոյն գունդապաւնդ ելեալ
Սիւնկան աղգէ Վ րաց առաւել անոգորմ
քան զԿովկասայինան . Բիւնցան ի լերինս եւ
ի ծորակս եւ յարձակ վայրս երկրի Օսկա
մաւ , Էտեքորց , Գանձապատանա , Սոխա
նապատաւ , Վաւրաքչայու , եւ Պարտապաւ ,
մինչեւ ի Վաւրապան գեղն եւ ի գետն Վրա
դաւ : Եւ թեպէտ անգամ թիւն եւ զերեւ
մարտ թիւն ոչ անքան արարին , սակայն
որս ինչ տեսին աչք նոցա , չորքառանկ անա
սուն , մինչեւ ի հաւ եւ շիրտաւ եւ ցաւն .
Իսկ զանշնից ոչ է տեսի . զի մինչեւ զփայ
տեղէն եւ զպրտեղէն եւ զխեցեղէն ատարան
Եւ եթէ այս սղապէս , եւ զինչ գրեցից աս
կաւ Բիւրաց եւ պատուական բնից եւ գլխին ,
սակեղնաց եւ արձաթեղնաց , եւ ոչ աղգի
աղ ի կահուց եւ կարատեաց , եւ զի տեսին
թէ ի բազմութենէ աւարին , Եւսինքն աղբն
ձոյն , երկաթին , եւ շորեղինին ոչ բաւ էին
բնականիք , ոչ ուղիւքն որ բնդ ինքնանս
այնու կրէին ի բանակս իւրեանց , որ էր մերձ
Գանձայու , ի Չորակ անուանեալ վայրն ,
Եւ զայս ոչ թէ միայն յաւաջ ասացեալ
Սահմանականացն արարին , ոչ , ոչ բնդ նա

ձին խոսնեալ եւ զամենայն գաւառս Հայոց
ի վերայ գրեալ յերկրէն միտհապոյն աւարի
առին զարժուն եւ զանշարժուն : Եւ զի լինէր
երբեմն գունդ ինչ զորացն Վ րաց , զիսկ ին
ի գետ ինչ քրիստանէի , եւ նորա քահանայ
Իւք եւ ժողովոյ որ բնդ առաջ լինէին նոցա
Խաչիւք , շաւրաւօք , զանգախօք , եւ մանկինօք
իրբեւ զքրիստանէի , Իսկ Վ րացիքն ի վե
րայ անկեալ կողարտէին զգեւատն , եւ զեկե
ղեցին , զգիրք , եւ զամենայն անօթն . զորս եւ
զխանոյս , եւ զամենայն ինչս գեղն մերի ի
մարէ կողարտեալ եւ աւարի առեալ գնացին .
եւ այսպէս զամենայն գաւառս եւ զեկեղեցիս
կողմանցն Գանձակաւ աւեր եւ թափաւ ար
արին յամենայն բնից , եւ լին զբանակս իւ
րեանց : Եւ զիսկ հօտից եւ անդէոց եւ առ
ջառոյ ո՛ր կարէ տակ . բանդի կարգ եւ սովորու
թիւն եւ նոցա յամենայն աւարէ դատաւնոր
զրն տալ գլխաւորին իւրեանց . այժմ տակին
զբանին նորա ի յաշարաց քան եւ հինգ
հազար , եւ յորժառոյ ինձ հազար , եւ զայ
րն մառք զննեացեա : Եւ զի այս եղև օ
գուտ մեզ գալուստ նորին , որ զմնացեալն
ի Ժալիւն աղգէն : Եւ զիսկ ճապարղ արարին
ապահ եւ անյագ եւ անոգորմ աղգն Վ րաց ,
Եւ գիտելի է , զի թաղաւորն Վ Բախանի .

ինքն այր բարեւեր, երկիւղած յաստուծոյ, և քրիստոնէասէր և անխաչար էր, որ և յօրով անգամ պատուիրէր և սպառնայր զօրացն ոչ առնել այնպէս զքրիստոնէայան՝ որպէս փան սպանութեան և գերութեան. իսկ նորա քաւ բիրտ և սուր բարուցն Վրաց ոչ անապին, և ոչ լսէին հրամանի գրեթաւ որին իւրեանց, Լէ սորս զայս արարեալ, և սորս դարձան ի տեղիս իւրեանց, և մնաց երկիրս մեր անտերունջ և անգլխաւոր, և սկսան մարդիկ իւրաքանչիւր զհաճոյս կամաց և մտաց իւրեանց առնել: Սատի և իմ տեսեալ զայս և նկատեալ զի յաւարտ իրին ոչ գոյ նշան խաղաղութեան, որ և էի ի մէջ բանակին Վախտանկոյ, բնդ նոսին և ես ուղղեցայ գնալ յերկիրն Վրաց. որ և գնացոր իսկ, և յուղի անկեալ ի Գանձայու ի ռճհա թուին, մայիսի ամսոյ իր, մտաք ի Տիկիսի քաղաքն, մնալով անգ ամիսս չորս, Լէ ի մտանել աշնան, յամենանն սեպտեմբերի սիրտս կրկին դառնալ ի Գանձայ Վախտանկ այսու պատճառաւ:

Քանզի ի նուազիլ միանգամայն և ի բաւորանկանիլ թագաւորութեանն Պարսից, զոր յապայն ասացորք զորպիսութիւն իրին, առաւել եւս բարձրացան թշնամիք նորին

մանաւանդ կայսերքն մեծամեծք և ինքնա կայք Սուլայն ասեմ՝ որ Սոկոփու, Պեարոս թագաւորն և Հոռոմոց Սոստանդնու պօլեաց տիրոջ խմայելացին. սորա յիւրաքանչիւր զինաց սկսան զօրս յարուցանել ի վերայ երկրին Պարսից. զի Ռուսն օգնել կամէր թագաւորին Պարսից, իսկ Հոռոմոց յեցին (օսմանցին) առնուլ ջանայր յինքն, տեսլով Վրովհեմեւ այլք կամին օրիւլ կողմանցն այնոցիկ, ինձ անկ է առնուլ. փան զի յառաջնմէ մեր էր երկիրն Կորդատակաւնի: Սակս այսր պատճառի սկսան յերկուց կողմանց պատգամս յղել առ թագաւորն Վրաց Վախտանկ. մին տեսլով յիմ կողմն լէր, և ինձ հնազանդեաւ և միւսն թէ՛ հաւատակից իմ ես, պարտիս ինձ անալ և առ իս գալ. քանզի պայման ուխտի և ժամու գիր եղեալ էր թագաւորն Պեարոս առ Վախտանկ, զի յայսմ աշնան ի մուսն հոկտեմբերի ինքնին ի քաղաքն Շամախի հաւսեալ և զիս անդ ի պարտաւորի դասնել պարտ է: Հայսմ նուազում թագաւորն Պարսից, որ հանդերձեալ էր անկանիլ ի դահոյից և ի բարձրութենէ իւրմէ, փութանակի հրովարտակ մի հասոյց առ Վախտանկ, եթէ «Քեզ ետու զամենայն իշխաւ

նու թիւն կողմանցդ Վանջայու, և ամենայն
Մորթատականի, և զքեզ կարգեցի գլուխ և
սարտապետ ամենայն ի խեցարաց կողմանցդ
այդոցիկ, վասն որոյ շէշտակի զօրս գումարեալ
գտցես ի Վանջայ, և պահ կտէալ զգումըս
ցիս կողմանցդ այդոցիկ ի թշնամեաց մերոցոյ :
Օտար հրաման և ի նմանե քննուեալ Վախ
տանկին, մտախաճ եղեալ ի սենեակ սրտի իւ
րոյ այսպէս, եթէ ահա ստիպիմ ի յերկուց
ինքեանկալացս, որ և հարկ է հրաման միայն
կատարել : Եւրդ՝ հրամայեցին պրահատաւ
և օտար զորով ի մէնջ, կամի բռնութեամբ
տիրել երկրի մերում : Իսկ կողմն այս, զի մին
բուն տէրն մեր է, ասինքն Պարսկոյ ինպա
ւորս : և միւսն հաւատակից մեր և քրիստո
նեայ կացոր է, մանաւանդ թէ՝ հզօր զբու
թեամբ : Եւրդ՝ զիմեալ գնացից ի հրամա
նոս նոցա, և յորոց ի նոցանե, յաջուեացի բզ
հրամայեալն՝ զայն կատարելցից :

Եւ իսկոյն հրաման եհան զօրս գումա
րել, և վաղվադակի ժողովեալ դրազմութիւն
զօրաց աղդացն Վրաց և Հայոց, և ոչ որ
եթող զոր ոչ երարձ ընդ իւր, ընդ որոց և
զիս էառ բերել, զի գնացն մեր անդ մին
շեւ ի դարձս այս սիրով ընդունէր զմեզ, և
զառնիկն մեր ի յինքնեք եր հրամայեալ : Եւ

եղեալ ի Տփլիսաւ անբաւ ամբօխիւ, զորոց
որքանութիւնն անբաւ գտով՝ ոչ կարացաք
գրել, և եկեալ հասաք ի կամուրջն կառու
րած՝ զոր Ենդքօրիկի ասեն, յառուր ասնի
սրբոյ խաչին : Եւ ասցաւ ասո յոյսմ առուր
յառաջ կուցեալ զիս՝ հրամայեալ նախ
քան զինքն յառաջ ընթանալ յերկիրն մեր
Վարդապ, և զհայազուն զօրսն որ գումա
րեալ կային անդ ի ձեռն Սեփեքեբոց, և
չորս գլխաւ որք եղեալ երիտասարդ այն, որոց
անուանքն են Եւան, Շրուան, Շահնի, և
Սարուխան, որ և սարս հարիւրապետք և
խաչակի կուէին : Սարս ընդ Սեփեքեբոցն
Վարդապոյ, զկնի առաջին գառնալոյն
Վախտանկին և խախտելոյ իշխանութեան
Պարսկոյ, միարանեալ ընդ ինչեանս զամե
նայն քաջաօիրտ և արիական և զօրեղ ման
կունս և երիտասարդս տանս Ելուանից,
ըստ ինքեանց կաղմեալ էին զօրս բազումս
առելի քան զերկառտաան հազար, և ամ
բացեալք յամուր փայրն Երցախաւ : Եւ
այսպէս բաղում արիութիւնս յուցեալ
յերկրին մերում, որոց պատմութիւնքն յա
ռաջակայս յաճախապէս գտցես :

Եւ յիմա լուեալ ամա զսոցանե՝ շէշտակի
ձեպով յղեաց զմեզ վասն առ ինքն անելոյ

զնոսա կազմ՝ զօրօք։ Եւ ըստ հրամանին եկեալ մեր յարդարեցաք զնոսա ըստ օրինի զօրաց իշխանաց, քան զի անվարեք էին զինուորական սպասաւորութեանց, և այսպէս բովանդակեալ զամենայն, և իբրեւ տան հազար արս ընտիրս և սպառազէնս, բնդ սրաց և զդատս քահանայից և պաշտօնէից մերաց առեալ մեծաւ ճոխութեամբ և խնձոյիւք, համարելով նոր նորոգեալ զիշխանութիւն Հայոց, և գնացեալ իծար մերձ ի քաղաքն Գանձայ, Զօլակ անուն վայրն՝ յաւուրս երիս։ Վանդի և թաղաւորն Վախտանի բնակեալ էր յայն կողմ քաղաքին՝ ի վերաց ջրոյն օր Ղօջարի գետ և Վարաարիս ասեն, և զկնի երից աւուրց սարս հրաման արար գնալ առ ինքն։ Ար և ելեալ գնացաք։ Եւ ի մերձենալ բանակի նորին, ինքն իսկ հրաման արար զօրաց իւրոց բնդ առաջ լինիլ մերացնոցն իբրեւ աղջամբ ընդունելով զնոսա։

Եւ այսպէս մեծաւ շքով ի հանդիպիլ միմեանց երկուց կողմանց զօրացն, և իբրեւ զօրէն պատերազմի ռազմ կարգեալ ճակատ առ ճակատ, և քաջամարտիկ մանկունք մերոցս դիմաց յառաջ խաղացեալ ճախր առեալ քաջութեաց երիվարօք, և զինակազմ

զրահիւք պարէին յանդիման ճակատուն, և ի ճայնէ հրացանացն որոտայր և թնդայր վայրն այն, և փոշխառն ծախ նորին, իբրեւ զկայծակնափայլ տակ արգել զճառագայթս արեգական, մինչ զի զմիմեանս հազիւ տեսանէաք։ Եւ այսպիսի խրախուժեամբ հասեալ իշար մերձ առ բանակի նոցին։ Օր տեսեալ Վախտանիկին այսպիսի յառաջադիմութիւն մերացնոցս, ցնձացաւ ի հողի և ի մարմին իւր։ Եւ նոյն ժամայն յղեալ կոչեաց առ ինքն զմեզ, և դալախ կարգեալ սղայն և զՎէլիքն, և յորդորական բանիւ յուսողբեաց, և զօրացոյց ասելով. «Եստեհեաւ զօրսովք և քաջ լերուք իբրեւ յորդիս զօրութեան, և յուսաեք և յուսեք մի երկնչիցիք, զի ահա հասեալ է ժամանակ փրկութեան քրիստոնէիցոյ։ Եւ դարձուցեալ զբանն առ մեզ, և յոյժ շնորհակալ եղեւ զմենք, և ի վաղիւն զամենեցուն զգլխաւորսն խիւղեաց, և այսպէս մնացաք առ նմա իբրեւ աւուրս քսան և հինգ։

Եւ պատճառ սորին այսպէս սեր առնելոյն ընդ մեզ՝ այս է. առաջինն՝ զի բնական սեր ունէր ընդ ազգիս Հայոց, և ոչ այնքան հաւատայր ազգին իւրոյ Վրաց որք միշտ

ձենդաւորք և խորամանկք են, փասն այն
կամէր զոյս զօրս՝ մանաւանդ ազգս Հայոց
իւրն սեփհականեցու ցանել որպէս Տրփի
սեցիք: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի յասկողեալ և ըս-
տու գեալ էր գալուստ մեծի կոյսերն Ռու-
սաց Պետրոսի, և կամէր Հայ և Վրացի զօ-
րօք ձօխ և շքեղ ընդ առաջ երանել նմա:
Իսոյց զինի յորով տկնկալութեան և սպա-
սաւորեցոյ համբաւոյ գալստեան նորին,
մեղք մեր յառաջնութեայ եղև քան զնա-
զի եկն եհառ ի Վուռն Երկաթի, այսինքն ի
Վարբանտ, և բնակիչք տեղւոյն ինքնակամ
յոժարութեամբ ևսուն դամբարն ի ձեռս
նորա: Իսոյց ոչ գիտեմ զինչ պատահումն
եղև. ոմանք ասացին զի ի հիւանդութենէ
և յոյ պատահարաց փնտր յորով եղև դա-
րուն, և կոտորումն ձիաց փասն անքնդելա-
թեան նոցա օրոյ եղանակի երկրին. այլ և
նաւաբեկութիւն եւս լեալ զինուոյ, այսինքն
Զադիանից, (Ճէպհանէ) և ուժկաց զօրուն,
և այլք այլ իմն պատճառս ասոյցին: Օհնչ
և իյէ, անտի եղև դարձ նորին, թաղեալ
զօրս յորով անդ՝ պայմանեալ ի գալ միւսոյ
ամին դարձեալ գառնալ. և ինքն չորաւ
յերկիր իւր:

Եւ զայս լուեալ Վախտանի, սա եւս

ժխաւ դառնալ ի տեղի իւր. զի ի սոյն նը-
ւադում համբաւ եւս եհառ ի գրանէ թա-
գաւորին Պարսից, թէ զքաղաքն Մսրահան՝
Հահն և զօրք իւր ի ներքս փակեցին, և մերձ
են ի յառնուլ: Եւ եւս զինի իւր սուր-
հանդակքս եւս հասին, եթէ ահա ի հին
թշնամեաց քոյ կամին յառնել ի վերայ
տան քաղաքիս քո, փութանակի պարտիս հա-
տանել տյօր: Եւ զայս որոյ վազմադակի յա-
րուցեալ դարձաւ ընդ կրունկն, և սուղ-
ինչ պատերազմեալ ընդ Վազախու երկրին
սակս առաջնոյ ինչ բնու իւրեանց, գնաց
ի տեղի իւր ի քաղաքն Տիփսիս: Իսկ մեր ան-
յոյս մնացեալ առաջնոյ ասացի սլ յուսոյն,
դարձաք իւրաքանչիւր ի տեղիս մեր, և ամ
բացաք ի լերինս ուր և դժուարին էր:

Իսոյց սակս որպիսութեանց Վախտան-
կին դարձեալ կոյ մեզ տսել սահաւ ինչ
պատմութիւն, զի զինի դառնալոյ նորա՝
տակաւին բռնաւորն Վանդալու և Կախե-
թու և Երեւանու և Պօղաշուին, և
Վազախու ի տեղիս իւրեանց էին: Սորա
ամենեքին թշնամիք եղեալ ընդ նմա, մա-
նաւանդ ուրացեալն Սահմաւորուի խանն
Կախեթու, որոյ յառաջն Կոտտանդ ասէին, ի
թոռանց թամբազին, և Օղուրու անուն

խանն Վանքացու, որ ազգաւ և ի բնուաւ
Թշնամիք էին ընդ ազգին Վախտանկայ,
այժմն միաբանեալ առ հասարակ յապտում
բաւթիւն, գրեցին զՎախտանկայ առ նոր
անուանեալ շահն Թահմազ, քանզի մի ի
յորդաոյն շահն առ յառն Հիւսէնին՝ Թահ-
մազ անուն, փախուցին Ռազահանու և բե-
րեալ ի Վաղուին արարին շահ: Եւ սա գը-
րեցին վասն Վախտանկին, և թէ խորհեալ է
զապտումբաւթիւն ի բէն, միաբանէ ընդ
խնքեան զազգն Հայոց և Վրաց, և դեսպա-
նըս արձակեալ առ Թադաւորն Ռուսաց՝ զի
եկեալ տիրեացէ աշխարհիս քո: Եւ զի զոր
ինչ հաճոյ է յաշտութիւն հրամայեցես առնել:
Իսկ նորաբուսիկ անխաճնն այն գրեաց հը-
րախարտակ, և թէ դերիկն կախեթու, և
Քարթաւոյ որ է Տիֆլիս, բարբ Թուամնոր
Վրաց՝ ետառ Մհամմադալի խանին, և
զամենայն գլխաւորս և զգորս Վանքացու,
Երեւանու, և զայլ և զվերայ գրեալսն է-
տաւ օգնական նմա, ահա պահանջեմ ի ձեզ
զՎախտանկին, և կամ զգլխի նորին վաղ-
փաղակի յղեալիք առ իս: Եւ ապա յամ-
նայն կ'մանց ժողովեալ զօրաց ի վերայ նո-
րա, և նոյն ինքն Մհամմադալի խանը, ի գի-
շերի գաղաւ եմաւ ի բերդն ու գիտեալ

Վախտանկին, և ընդ առաւտն յանկար-
ծակի ձգեալ թի ի վերայ տանն Վախտան-
կին և ստէ: Եւ շրանն է շահին, ել առնի և
գնաւ: Իսկ նա հաղիւ թէ զերծեալ էր ի
Պարսից, զոր յաւաքեմէ երգմանք կոչեցին
առ ինքեան, և զամս՝ ս ի խաղին Պարս-
կաստան յարտա պահեցին, և դարձեալ և
տուն զուգորտակեաւթիւն զօրացն Պարսից
զամս երկուս, և ապա զիս հայրենի իշ-
խանութիւնն տուեալ հրամայեցին դա-
նալ ի սեղի իւր: Եւ ապա յարիկ եկեալ
Վախտանկն, և թէ ոյկաւ երեսս ալ իմն
կերպիւ կենցր, ալ լոս մտայն խորհրդոյ
զղջումն սրտին յայտնի էր յաշտանեցուն,
փան այնորիկ յայժ տուեիք էին նմա Պար-
սիկք, և նորա նմա Թշնամիք, այժմն ի յորի-
նիլ ի վերայ նորա պատերազմն, և նա ժո-
ղովեալ զօրս իւր, մանաւանդ զբազար-
ցիսն, զհայազուն քանդաւարիկ զօրականս,
որք հօգիս և զորդիս, զինչ և զանձինս
եղեալ էին ի վերայ նորա յօժար սրտիւ, և
սկիզբն ար ի զպատերազմն յաւաքեալ
դէմ դէկ սեղիս ամայ՝ միտեւ ի սնն սրբոյ
Օստիկն, Վախտանկն վրացի և հայ զօ-
րք, ի ի Մհամմադալին սարսիկք:

Օյնչ ալ գրեցից ստիս աւերաւթիւն

և գերութեան և ողանութեան երկրին
այնմիկ, այլ զի առաջինն այն եղև աւարտ
իբն որ դորան Պարսից յաղթահարեցին և
տարանք և փոխառական առնելով, և բոլ
նայն ինչն զՄհամեապաշտին գատ ի դորայն
միայն գտեալ հաղածեալ էին մերձ ի հասա
նել, և նա զերասանակ երկրարին ուզեալ էր
առ գեան Արար ի ներքոյ քաղաքին Տփսիսաւ:
Այնպէս երկրարն արեւալ գնին ի գե
տին, և ի լոյ անցեալ յայնկորս՝ գնաց յեր
կիր իւր ի Արսեթ, բայց ոչ հասեցաւ և ոչ
դադարեաց ի չարութենէ, զի որպէս գնաւ
փառեալ էր ի չար նախանձաւն, և երկրորդ
Յուդայ զգեցեալ էր զհայր իւր զատանայ:
Քանզի գնացեալ իսկն ընդ իւր միարա
նէրոյց դադրէ Վաղիւսաց և դամեանայն կոսիա
տային լեռնարևակիան, զի անյուսացաւ ի
կողմանցն Պարսից, և ընդ նոսա ախաւեաց
այսպէս: «Այժէ աստարիցէք ինձ և օգնիցէք
և ձերով օգնականութեամբ և զօրութի
առից զքաղաքն Տփսիս, ձեզ տաց որ ինչ
գտանիցի ի նմա, ոսկի և արծաթ, կերպա
սեղէնն, կտուռն, և բրդեղէնն, պղինձն,
երկաթն, և անագն, միանգամայն և գե
րին զոր ի նմա գտանիցէք: Այլ ի վերայ աչ
արդ ամենայնի ըստ մարդաթաւի ձերոյ ա

մեռացն մարդոց երկու թուան ևւս յիսնն
տայ, միայն ինչ մեծ նախանձաւ իսկ զի
բէմն առից ու:

Օպս բռեալ ի նմանէ կիթթն ի չարիս,
և աշխարհակորման մոլեգին լեզեանն առ
դայելի, զի արայիսի աւետիս և ազորապե
տին իւրեանց, և յոյժ զաւարձացան ի սիր
տա իւրեանց, և խոստացան կաւարել զիւ
միս նորա: Այլ փաղկարակի ի մի փայր ժո
ղովեալ բաղմութիւն յոյժ փայրեալարոյ
աղբացն լեռնական բարբարոսաց, հանդերձ
զփառորքն իւրեանց զոր Վիս առլման և,
Իսաի առեին, և այլք ոմանք: Այլ յերկու բա
ժանեալ դորս միմեկաւ էին ի վերայ ամե
նախարկմամ քաղաքին Տփսիսաւ, որում ի բա
ղում ժամանակաց ցանկային, և յանկարծ
իմն եկեալ պաշարեցին զքաղաքն: Քանզի
զօրք Վախտանկին ցրուեալք էին, և ինքն
անհոյ կայր, և աւարտ ինչ զինակալեալ
և ետեւ զի յաւանքն ոչ է հաս օգնութիւն,
այլ և ոմանք ի գիտաւորացն Վրաց և մեծա
մեծաց յիսա չոյան ի նմանէ, որ էր Վարա
ղախանաւ Ախորդի յերկու թաւն և Վախրանե
ղիւր, և ի յաղարէն ոմանք ևս: Օպս առեալ
Վախտանկին զի յամառէն ոչ օգուտ բերե
նքեան և ոչ քաղաքին, իւրովի ել ալ

տալս ի բաղարէն յեղ ինչ : Եւ հրաման
եալ գլխաւորաց բաղարին երանել ընդ ա-
ռաջ նորա և յոժարութեամբ առնուլ ի
նեքս գորն : զի թերեւ մի խաղառ աւել-
րեացեն զնստաւ և զի սերմցին ի գերութենե
և ի աստուկեանե , վասն զի անպէտաց ի բա-
ղարն : Բանդն սեփական հայրենիք իւր էր :
Եւ քննն գնացեալ ի վեր ամբարաց ի խա-
ղին Վրաստան , և անտի տակաւ ասեալ հը-
րեշտակա և գեարանա առաքէր առ թա-
գաւորն Սաւապ , զի զորս հասուցե ին-
քեան ի թիկունս , և ոչ մամանեաց :

Իսկ Սահմանադաւլին յորժամ եմուտ
ի քաղաքն հանգերձ բաղնութեամբ Վազ-
կեացն , և խիոյն սկսան արնել զքաղաքն
տանել ի տուն , և գրանել ի դռան : այլ և
զեկեղեցիսն ամենայն և զվերնատուն և
զներքնատունն նոցա : Եւ զի ի յալով մամու-
նակաց և արս անդրդուելն էր ի թշնա-
մեաց , և ի աղաղակեալ ի պատերազմի ա-
մենախորթամ և վայելուչ քաղաքն Տիֆլիս :
և որպէս ամենեկուն է յայտնի , բազմաչ
խառ փոճառականք են արք տեղւոյն , և
փափկատունք և դեղեցկատիոյ կանայք ,
ուսանք և դասերք նոցա , և բոտ կենցա-
ղոյս բալ սքափարութեան աննմանք ի բաղ

մաց , ապարանիք գեղապաճու ճոր դարդա-
րեալ , կահիւք և կարստեօք առնալեալք , և
բոտ մամանակ ի իշտանութեան Հոյոյ զա-
մենայն սպաս և անօթս տանց և սեղա-
նայ նոցա գլխաւս փախանակ պղնձոյ՝ արծա-
թեղէն և ոսկեղէնս էին կալմեալ , իսկ
զհանգերձից և զգետնաց դարդուց տկա-
նակաւ գիտակաց մարգարտաշարաց պաշ-
տառութիւն գլխաւս որչափ օր միտք քա-
ւեն : Եւ վասն եկեղեցեացն շքեղութեան
և որպճառութեան զինչ ասացից , զի յոյժ
շքեղացուցեալ էին ոսկեղմօք և արծա-
թեղմօք և դիպակօք և ամենայն կահիւք
և կարստեօք և անօթեղն սպասիւք : Օպս
ամենայն գրեալքս ի ձեռն առին վարդենի և
անագորոյն և ազահութեան մասամբ ան-
յադ գազանաբարոյ և տղրկանման աղդքն
այնորիկ , և կողպտեալ թափեցին յինքեա-
նոս զբազմութիւն աւարին և զմանկանց և
զտղայոց , կանանց և աղջկանց զաւաց զհա-
նայն առին ի գերութիւն : իսկ զխաղառ
աւակութեանց զչափն կարէ պատմել , և զա-
ւարին զթիւնն կարէ ընդ գրով արկանել :
Եւ այս սպանութիւն և այլ աւելի գերեզմա-
րութիւն ոչ այնքան արարին , վասն զի ոչ և
թող խանն , այլ նորա և ոչ նմա լինին , քան

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զի զխոստացեալ դրամն խնդրէին . վասն ու
րոյ ծանր հարկս էարկ ի վերայ քաղաքաց
ւոցն անշաղի համարօք , իբրեւ քառասուն
հազար թու ման , և առեալ զայն ետնոցա ,
և արձակեաց դնալ ի տեղի իւրեանց :

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